INDIA AND THE NEIGHBOURING TERRITORIES

INDIA AND THE NEIGHBOURING TERRITORIES

IN THE

KITĀB NUZHAT AL-MUSHTĀQ FI'KHTIRĀQ AL-'ĀFĀQ

OF

AL-SHARĪF AL-IDRĪSĪ

A TRANSLATION, WITH COMMENTARY, OF THE PASSAGES RELATING TO INDIA, PAKISTAN, CEYLON, PARTS OF AFGHANISTAN, AND THE ANDAMAN, NICOBAR, AND MALDIVE ISLANDS, ETC.

BY

S. MAQBUL AHMAD

WITH A FOREWORD BY

V. MINORSKY

PRINTED FOR THE TRUSTEES OF THE "DE GOEJE FUND"
No. 20

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1960

To my Wife

CONTENTS

LIST OF PLATES

LIST OF MAPS

FOREWORD

From the earliest days of European Orientalism the reputation of the Sharīf al-Idrīsī (even when disguised by his Latin translator of 1619 as "geographus Nubiensis") has come down to us as that of a great Islamic geographer. In many respects he merits such an appreciation, though before the second half of the nineteenth century his original sources were insufficiently known and at times he has received more credit than was due to him. It may be added that the attention of European scholars was long directed primarily to those valuable chapters in Idrisi's Compendium in which he describes the countries of Western Europe and those of the Mediterranean basin, and for which he was able to draw upon the direct and fresh information of merchants and mariners visiting the court of King Roger of Sicily.

Dr. Maqbul Ahmad rightly points out that Idrisi himself was no traveller. For the countries beyond the Black Sea and Suez he depended on the works of such geographers as Ibn Khurdādhbih, Jayhānī (now lost), Ibn Ḥauqal and such reports (*akhbār*) on the marvels of the exotic islands and seas as had been drawn up in the harbours visited by ships trading with India and China. For the Middle and Farther East Idrisi was only a compiler, and his difficulties increased when he tried to combine his sources with data culled from the Arabic translations of Ptolemy's *Hyphēgēsis*, a thousand years old by his time.

The resulting amalgam of the chapters on India stands no comparison with such first-hand work as the admirable account of that country by Bīrūnī. The latter wrote a century before Idrisi but his *India* remained unknown to the Sicilian geographer. It is even doubtful to what extent the works of the still earlier Mas'ūdī have been reflected in the *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq*.

The task of a scholar who has to explain a straightforward eyewitness account is often less arduous than that of an editor obliged to analyse an alloy consisting of sundry and uncertain

elements. Such was the problem set before Dr. Maqbul Ahmad. His patient reconstruction of Idrisi's text, his interpretation of it and the investigation of the sources have required much time. He must have begun his research about 1948. In 1950 his thesis for the D. Phil. degree was accepted by the University of Oxford. In 1954 the Muslim University of Aligarh published the Arabic text established on the basis of the five principal MSS. Now, six years later, his English translation of the text accompanied by the appropriate explanations and commentaries is going to see the light in the series of the Leiden foundation bearing the name of the great Dutch scholar M. J. de Goeje, the father of systematic and comparative research on Islamic geography.

At this moment there exists a project to produce a complete edition of Idrisi's Compendium, and one can be sure that the results of Dr. Maqbul Ahmad's regional research will be duly integrated in that vast enterprise.

I derive special pleasure from witnessing the progress of Dr. Maqbul Ahmad's work for, by a happy conjunction of the stars, I happened to act as an examiner both for his D. Phil. thesis (Oxford) and for that of his wife, Dr. Audrey J. Ahmad (London 1950), and on that account might claim the honorary *kunya* of *Abū-ad-doktūrayn.*

Cambridge, 28th March, 1960. V. MINORSKY

INTRODUCTION

Studies on al-Idrīsī's geographical work *Kitāb Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fi'Khtirāq al-'Āfāq* have been, on the one hand, assisted by the existence of a number of good manuscripts, and on the other, hindered by the vast range of information which it contains. Several orientalists have made separate studies of different regions dealt with in the work, but the need for a critical edition of the whole text has long been felt. There is now some hope that, as a result of the initiative taken by Professor Francesco Gabrieli, this task may eventually be accomplished. It was as a contribution to such a complete edition that I published al-Idrīsī's text on India and the neighbouring regions in 1954, under the title of *India and the Neighbouring Territories as described by the Sharif al-Idrisi.*[1] This text was prepared on the basis of the study and collation of several manuscripts, which I consulted during my stay in Europe. These are: 1. Bodleian, Pococke 375; 2. Bodleian, Greaves 42; 3. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, No. 2221; 4. *ibid.*, No. 2222; 5. British Museum, Supplement 685, Or. 4636. I also consulted the abridgment of al-Idrisi's text, published in Rome in 1592. Of these, the MS. Bib. Nat. No. 2221 is by far the best. It made possible the improvement and correction of several ambiguous readings in the text and the restoration of the correct forms of many place-names. The Greaves MS., written in the *maghribī* script, closely follows the MS. Bib. Nat. No. 2221, but is full of errors as a result of careless transcription. It was, therefore, of little assistance in the work of collation and is, in fact, the worst of the four unabridged MSS. consulted by me. The texts of the MS. Bib. Nat. No. 2222 and the MS. Pococke No. 375 closely resemble each other, and have similar forms of words and spellings of names. Of the two, the former is superior in legibility and neat-

---

[1] Published by the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.

ness. The MS. of the British Museum and the Rome edition cannot be fully relied on for the work of collation, as they have been abridged rather carelessly. For the purposes of abridgment, passages have been excluded quite arbitrarily, without due regard for the context.

In my text, the MS. Bib. Nat. No. 2221 was taken as the basis for collation, and its readings were generally preferred to those of other MSS. Where variant spellings were found, the correct or best form was adopted as a standard throughout; in some cases readings were improved by reference to al-Idrīsī's sources.

The text was presented in the same order as it is found in the MSS., and the general division into climes and their subdivision into sections were retained. However, within each section the material was broken up into paragraphs according to subject-matter, with a view to facilitating reference. The text thus prepared contains all the material on India given in these MSS. and was published for the first time. The present translation and commentary are based on this text. It represents an advance on Jaubert's translation of the whole work and on Dowson's English translation of those portions of Jaubert's translation that relate to India, [1] neither of which are satisfactory.

In the commentary I have suggested a number of new identifications of place-names and interpretations of historical and other allusions in the work. The results of the research of such eminent scholars as Professor V. Minorsky, S. H. Hodīvālā and Gabriel Ferrand in this field have also been incorporated where appropriate. There still remain many place-names that are either unidentified or only tentatively identified. The locations of all the towns, regions, mountains, rivers, etc., that have been definitely identified have been shown on a modern map of India and the adjacent countries, and an attempt has also been made to place some geographical features that have been only tentatively or approximately identified.

THE AUTHOR

I do not propose to deal at length with the life of the author of the work, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd

[1] See Elliot, I, pp. 74-93.

Allāh b. Idrīs, usually known as al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī, as I can add little to what has already been written by Professor Tadeusz Lewicki in his Introduction to *Polska i Kraje Sąsiednie w Świetle "Księgi Rogera", geografa arabskiego z XII w. al-Idrīsī'ego.* [1] The following short account may be sufficient for our purpose. Al-Idrīsī was born in 493 A.H./1100 A.D. [2] He belonged to the Ḥammūdid dynasty, which at one time ruled in Malaga and Algeciras in southern Spain, and in Ceuta and Tangier in North Africa. In 1016 A.D., a member of this house, ʿAlī, seized Cordova and proclaimed himself caliph. The dynasty was driven out of its Spanish possessions when Malaga fell to the neighbouring kingdom of Granada in 1057, and its surviving members fled to Ceuta. In all probability it was here that our author was born, although long before his birth, in 1083-4, the Moroccan Almoravid dynasty had put an end to Ḥammūdid rule in North Africa. [3]

After travelling in Western Europe and the Mediterranean lands, and studying in Cordova, al-Idrīsī was invited by the Norman king of Sicily, Roger II (1097-1154 A.D.), to his court. [4] Lewicki has advanced the hypothesis that Roger was more interested in al-Idrīsī as a possible pretender and potential puppet ruler than as a geographer. As a descendant of the Ḥammūdids, he would have been useful to Roger in his plans to conquer Muslim Spain and establish his hegemony over the Western Mediterranean. As a geographer, his reputation was yet to be established. Even as a traveller, he could hardly claim great renown. Consequently, al-Idrīsī's geographical interests, which at that stage must have been somewhat amateurish, offer a less convincing reason for Roger's invitation than his potentialities as a political figurehead. [5] This impression is strengthened by the information given by al-Ṣafadī that, after inviting al-Idrīsī to his court, Roger pressed him to stay on in the words: "Comme tu es issu de la famille des khalifes, si tu habites un pays musulman, le prince du pays prendra

[1] Część I, Kraków, 1945; Część II, Warszawa, 1954.
[2] Lewicki, *op.cit.*, I, p. 11.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.
[4] In Lewicki's opinion, our author must have reached the court of Roger by 1145 A.D. (for reasons see Lewicki, *op.cit.*, cz. I, pp. 15-16).
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14.

de l'ombrage et cherchera à te faire mourir. Reste dans mes États et j'aurai soin de ta personne." [1]

It appears that al-Idrīsī was invited in the first place to construct a silver celestial sphere, a task which he successfully accomplished and for which he was rewarded. [2] It is doubtful, however, whether he possessed a thorough knowledge of astronomy or mathematical geography, for if he did, there would have been some indication of it in his maps and in his geography. Besides, in praising Roger as a person well versed in 'the mathematical and practical sciences', he mentions with the amazement of a layman 'the wonderful and extraordinary inventions' which had been made by Roger, and 'the measuring instruments of iron' which he used for verifying latitudes and longitudes. [3] It is, therefore, very likely that one of Roger's main objects in inviting our author to his court was to utilize his intimate knowledge of the very regions in which Roger's political interests lay, namely, North Africa and Spain. Although al-Idrīsī was not a great traveller, whatever knowledge he possessed of the Mediterranean lands would undoubtedly have been very useful to Roger in his political manoeuvres. It seems, therefore, that the two main objects of Roger's invitation to al-Idrīsī were political, and that Roger's academic interest in him was only secondary. However, it was at Roger's court and under Roger's patronage that al-Idrīsī blossomed out as a great geographer, and became one of the foremost Arab geographers of the Middle Ages. Whatever part he was expected to play in the advancement of Roger's political objectives, it is clear that his importance as a geographer ultimately overshadowed such political importance as he may have had when he arrived in Sicily. His geographical labours were continued after Roger's death at the court of his successor, William I, called the Bad (1154-66 A.D.). [4] Only at the end of his life did al-Idrīsī leave Sicily to go to North Africa. He probably died in Ceuta in 560 A.H./1166 A.D. [5]

Roger displayed a keen interest not only in the geography of

---

[1] Quoted by Reinaud, *Géographie*, p. cxv.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. cxiv; Lewicki, *op. cit.*, I, p. 16.
[3] *L'Italia*, Ar.T., pp. 4 & 5.
[4] Lewicki, *op. cit.*, I, p. 17.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 18-19.

the lands that he ruled over, but also in that of other countries, as al-Idrīsī himself has testified in his *Introduction.*[1] Such a desire for geographical knowledge on the part of Roger may have arisen from an academic interest in the subject, but his political interests, namely, the further expansion of his kingdom, the conquest of Muslim Spain, etc.,[2] must have also motivated his study of the geography and topography of these lands. Such a study was essential for military and strategic reasons. However, there is little doubt that both al-Idrīsī and his patron were genuinely interested in geography for its own sake too. Whatever may have been the shortcomings of al-Idrīsī as a geographer, this Arab-Norman co-operation under the patronage of Roger was certainly a fruitful one from a geographical point of view: the construction of a large map of the world cast on a silver base (unfortunately lost), the collection and systematic presentation of a vast amount of geographical knowledge in the compendium *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq,* and the drawing of the clime maps that accompany it, are achievements of first-rate importance. They embody many of the best traditions of Greek, Norman and Arab geography.

AL-IDRĪSĪ'S GEOGRAPHICAL CONCEPTIONS

Al-Idrīsī's geographical conceptions[3] seem to be based mainly on theoretical works, including those of both Greek and earlier Arab astronomers and geographers He does not appear to have consulted the works of some important Arab geographers such as al-Mas'ūdi, whose views on certain subjects differed from those expressed in the sources of al-Idrīsī's knowledge. Besides, he was either unacquainted with the recorded observations of such valuable informants as travellers, sailors and sea captains, or he disregarded their views. This is specially noticeable in his knowledge of the physical geography of the East. In his conceptions, there is neither originality of thought nor a critical evaluation of the traditional conceptions held by the Greek and earlier Arab geographers

---

[1] *L'Italia,* Ar.T., p. 4.
[2] For details of Roger's political achievements and aspirations, see Lewicki, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 4-5, 14-15.
[3] As found in his *Introduction, L'Italia,* Ar.T., pp. 6-14.

and astronomers. In many cases, he simply borrows the material from them and presents it without any attempt to verify its correctness.

The passages relating to the sphericity of the earth and its fixed position in the centre of the celestial sphere are taken from Ibn Khurradādhbih.[1] His information on the equator and the circumference of the earth is also mainly borrowed from the same author. Using the same measuring units as Ibn Khurradādhbih, he gives figures for the circumference of the earth totally different from Ibn Khurradādhbih's.[2] Again, he mentions a fantastic figure attributed to Hermes, and does not question its accuracy.[3] In both cases his figures are more exaggerated than those generally accepted by Arab geographers. He also took from Ibn Khurradādhbih his material on the extent of the inhabited quarter of the earth,[4] originally based on Ptolemy. The conception that life was

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 7; cf. I. Khur., p. 4.

[2] *Ibid.* Quoting the same units as I. Khur., al-Idrīsī arrives at the figures of 11,000 *farsakhs* or 132 million cubits, which, he says, are based on the calculations of the Indians. I. Khur. gives the circumference of the earth as 9,000 *farsakhs*, which is the correct result of calculations from this unit. Al-Idrīsī must have either miscalculated, or else taken the figure of 11,000 *farsakhs* from some other source, perhaps one in which Indian figures were quoted, without verifying its relationship to I. Khur.'s units. Al-Bīrūnī gives various Indian figures for the circumference of the earth, of which the nearest to al-Idrīsī's 132 million cubits is the 4,800 *yojanas* (= 153,600,000 cubits; 1 *yojana* = 8 miles or 32,000 cubits: Bīrūnī, *India*, I, p. 167) given by Brahmagupta in the unamended edition of his *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* (Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, I, p. 312). I. Khur.'s figure of 9,000 *farsakhs* (= 108 million cubits) is close to that of 3,300 *yojanas* (= 105,600,000 cubits) in *al-Arkand* (see Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 312, 315-16; II, p. 339, note to p. 312, l. 22). It is surprising that our author does not mention Ptolemy's figure for the circumference of the earth as accepted by Arab geographers, namely, 24,000 Arabian miles or 96,000,000 cubits, with 1° = 66⅔ miles (see Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, pp. 26-7; *Murūj*, I, pp. 190-91). In fact this figure is not the true equivalent of Ptolemy's calculation, viz. 180,000 stadia, which it exceeds by about 5,500 English miles (see Nallino, *'Ilm al-Falak*, IV, pp. 278-9).

[3] Hermes was a legendary figure known to the Arabs as an ancient philosopher of Egypt (Nallino, *'Ilm al-Falak*, II, pp. 142-3, note 1). Al-Idrīsī says that he calculated the length of a degree as 100 (Arabian) miles, and hence the circumference of the earth would be 36,000 Arabian miles (*L'Italia*, Ar.T., p. 7).

[4] According to al-Idrīsī, only the northern quarter of the earth is inhabited, up to 64° lat. north of the equator (*L'Italia*, Ar.T., p. 8). Cf. I. Khur., pp. 4-5; *ibid.*, Fr. tr., p. 3, note 1). Al-Mas'ūdī says that, according to Ptolemy, the

not possible beyond these limits either in the north or the south because of extremes of cold and heat respectively is originally an Aristotelian conception.[1] Our author followed the Ptolemaic conception that there was an unknown land to the south of the equator, and hence in his maps the east coast of Africa is prolonged south and east as far as the Pacific Ocean (*al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*), thus covering practically the whole of the southern quarter with land.[2] He followed the Greek system of dividing the *œcumene* into seven climes.[3] The fact that he did not follow the division of the known world on a regional basis used by Ibn Ḥauqal, with whose ideas he must have been acquainted, shows that he was not influenced by the Balkhī School of Arab geography to which the latter belonged.[4]

Al-Idrīsī held the conception that the sphericity of the earth was not true: that it had highlands and lowlands and the water flowed from the higher to the lower levels. Again, half of the earth was sunk beneath the Encircling Ocean (*al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*), which completely surrounded the other half, which was visible. The seven climes of the northern quarter of the visible portion were pierced through by seven seas called gulfs.[5]

One of these seas is the Sea of China, India, Sind and Yemen

---

northernmost place where population is found is the island of Tule, 63° north of the equator, and to the south of the equator, the land is populated as far as 16° 35′ 20″ (*Tanbīh*, p. 25; cf. *Geography*, Book VII, p. 160).

[1] *L'Italia*, Ar.T., pp. 8 & 14. Cf. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, pp. 30-31; *Meteorologica*, Book II, pp. 362a-362b. Cf. also I. Ḥauqal, Part I, p. 10, where he expresses similar views.

[2] Cf. *Geography*, Book VII, pp. 159-60. Al-Masʿūdī doubted if there was such a land in the south, for he had been told by the sailors of the Indian Ocean (*al-Baḥr al-Ḥabashī*) that in some places this sea had no limits in the south (*Murūj*, I, pp. 281-2, *Tanbīh*, p. 51). I. Ḥauqal, pp. 42-3, also conceived of land south of the equator but he was not sure of the details of these regions, and says that they are only known to those who sail on this sea up to the coast lying opposite to (south of) China (as shown on his world map).

[3] *L'Italia*, Ar.T., pp. 8, 13-14. Our author's descriptions are given in order from west to east within each clime. A similar arrangement is followed in al-Khwārizmī's *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 3 sqq.

[4] Cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 5-6, 12, 18.

[5] *L'Italia*, Ar.T., pp. 8-9. Ptolemy enumerated five main seas in all (see Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, I, pp. 184, 271-2).

(the Indian Ocean).[1] From this sea two gulfs branch out: the Sea of Fārs (the Persian Gulf) and the Gulf of al-Qulzum (the Red Sea). The Sea of al-Shām (the Mediterranean) has two gulfs or seas, viz. the Gulf of al-Banādiqiyyīn (the Venetians = the Adriatic) and the Sea of Nīṭas (*Bunṭus < Pontus = the Black Sea).[2] Lastly, there is the Sea of Jurjān and al-Daylam (the Caspian), which has no connection by water with any of the seas mentioned above.[3]

---

[1] According to al-Idrīsī, this sea began in the east at 13° lat. south of the equator and stretched between China and Bāb al-Mandab (the strait at the entrance to the Red Sea). Its length between these two points was 4,500 *farsakhs* (*L'Italia*, Ar.T., p. 9). Cf. al-Khwārizmī, *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 75: this sea touched *al-Baḥr al-Muẓlim* (the Pacific) at long. 164° 0' and lat. 18° 30' south of the equator. Following Ptolemy, our author conceived of it as a large gulf surrounded by land on all sides except in the east near China, where it branched off from the Pacific. Cf. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, p. 51; *Geography*, Book VII, pp. 159-60. Apparently he was not familiar with the observations of al Mas'ūdī on the limits of this sea towards the south (see above). The figure for its length given by our author seems to be based on the opinion of some Arab astronomers, for al-Mas'ūdī pointed out that those who believed it to be 4,500 *farsakhs* were wrong, and that according to Ptolemy, al-Kindī and al-Sarakhsī, the correct measurement was 8,000 miles (for arguments, see Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, p. 51; *Murūj*, I, p. 231).

[2] The figures given by al-Idrīsī for the dimensions of the Sea of Fārs, the Gulf of al-Qulzum, the Sea of al-Shām, the Gulf of al-Banādiqiyyīn and the Sea of Bunṭus (*L'Italia*, Ar.T., pp. 9-12) largely coincide with the figures given by such Arab geographers as I. Khur., p. 60, Mas'ūdī, (*Murūj*, I, pp. 237, 256, 331; *Tanbīh*, pp. 56, 57, 66-7) and I. Rusta, pp. 84, 85. The most notable discrepancies are in the figures for the lengths of the Sea of al-Shām (al-Idrīsī gives 1,136 *farsakhs* = 3,408 miles, whereas the figure generally given is 5,000 or even 6,000 miles) and the Gulf of al-Banādiqiyyīn (al-Idrīsī has 1,100 miles, whereas Qudāma, p. 231, used as a source by our author, Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, p. 259 and I. Rusta, p. 85, all have 500 miles).

[3] Al-Idrīsī gives its length as 1,000 miles and its breadth as 650 miles (*L'Italia*, Ar.T., p. 13). Cf. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, p. 60; *Murūj*, I, pp. 262-3: length, 800 miles and breadth, 600 miles or more. The fact that our author says that this sea was not connected by water with any other sea (*L'Italia*, Ar.T., pp. 9-12) reflects his awareness of the misconception of such Arab geographers as I. Khur. (see I. Khur., pp. 103, 104) and others that this sea was connected with the Black Sea by water. According to Ptolemy, whom our author has followed, these seas were separate (*Geography*, Book VII, pp. 159-60). It seems that in some of the Arabic versions of Ptolemy's Geography, the translators or interpolators falsely attributed to Ptolemy the conception that these two seas were connected by water, for I. Ḥauqal, p. 13, was amazed to find, in a manuscript of '*Jaghrāfiyyā*' a statement on the authority of Ptolemy that the Caspian flowed from the Mediterranean, and exclaimed 'I seek the protection of God that a person like Ptolemy

MAPS

Among the weakest aspects of al-Idrīsī's cartography are his maps of the eastern lands. They are more confusing and less accurate than those of the Mediterranean regions and Europe. This is because he utilized the maps of Ptolemy, which were out of date in relation to the material at his disposal. Mistakes were bound to be made and confusion created when material ranging from the time of Ptolemy up to contemporary Persian and Arab sources was incorporated into the maps. The southern coast-line of India is elongated roughly as a straight line going from west to east, with only two small protrusions of approximately equal size, jutting out towards the south, one representing the southern peninsula of India, and the other Kathiawar. Thus, the southern peninsula is drawn disproportionately small, which has resulted in the misplacement of towns and ports on the map. [1] As for the rivers, the course shown for the Ganges is fantastic. Originating in the mountains towards the north near 'Outer Kashmir', it flows south and then south-west. Then, passing by Nahrwāra (Patan in Gujerat), it turns south again and, passing near to the western coast of the peninsula, it flows into the Arabian Sea near Fandarayna (Pantalāyini Kollam in Malabar). Consequently, some towns have mistakenly been placed on the Ganges. [2] The river Jamuna does not appear on the map at all. Again, since the Indian Ocean is conceived of as a large gulf (see above) and the size of Ceylon exaggerated, the positions of the islands belonging to this sea are confused, and towns that are on the coast of Africa are shown as lying opposite to the coast of India. [3] Again, some peninsulas or

should state the impossible or describe a thing contrary to what it actually is.' Al-Mas'ūdī also rejected this false conception, and pointed out that, since the Black Sea was connected with the Caspian by some gulfs and large rivers (most probably the Don and the Volga, the main streams of which are about 50 miles apart at their nearest point of approach), some geographers mistakenly believed that the Black Sea and the Caspian were one and the same (*Murūj*, I, pp. 273-5; II, pp. 18-24; *Tanbīh*, p 67).

[1] For example, towns like Sindān, Sūbāra, Ṣaymūr, etc., belonging to the western coast of the peninsula, are shown as lying on the elongated southern coast west of the peninsula (of al-Idrīsī's maps).

[2] For example, the towns of Aṭrāsā, Nahrwāra and Fandarayna.

[3] The Nicobar Islands are shown as lying to the east of Sumatra, and Sumatra has its head in the Bay of Bengal

even coastal towns are drawn as islands, e.g. Oykman, Sindān, Quilon and Ūrīsīn. It may be that the confusion in their representation arose from the fact that the word *al-jazīra* in Arabic is used both for an island and for a peninsula, but on the whole it seems simply that al-Idrīsī was unable to verify the information about these regions at his disposal, or was misinformed.

One of the main shortcomings of the work, which creates difficulties in the identification of place-names, etc., is that no uniform scale is used by the author for measuring distances, and in some cases distances given in the sources are changed or wrong calculations made.[1] It seems that the main object of our author and also of his patron was not so much to work out the geographical positions of places in terms of longitudes and latitudes, or to draw up correct itineraries, as to gather a rough idea about the location of places. Again, careless use of the source-material and faults in the method of classification have given rise to mistakes and confusion.[2] However, al-Idrīsī made a useful contribution to cartography by placing a large amount of the data at his disposal on a Ptolemaic map. The simple representation of physical features without pictorial embellishments may be considered as modern cartography in its youthful stage.

THE ACCOUNT OF INDIA

Except for some information taken from Ptolemy, al-Idrīsī's description of India and the neighbouring regions as presented in the following pages relates to a period ranging between 800 A.D. and 1150 A.D., and deals with political history, geography, religion, social customs, etc. Its arrangement is incoherent and there is no regard for the chronology of events. Information pertaining to different periods has been accumulated without any indication

[1] See Appendix A under *Distances*.

[2] The towns Lamṭa, Zawīla and Audughust belonging to al-Maghrib (see I. Ḥauqal, pp. 92-3) have been inserted in the sections pertaining to India. What is even more surprising is that arbitrary distances have been assigned to these towns from Kābul, Multān and Sindūr (Tr., p. 68 §§ 74-79). This confusion may have arisen from a misreading of the text in I. Ḥauqal. Cf. I. Ḥauqal, ed. de Goeje, p. 227; cf. Tr. p. 58, § 3; I. Ḥauqal, p. 319, l. 11.

of the period concerned in each instance. Al-Idrīsī's approach to his material is neither critical nor scientific. Consequently, the account as a whole does not give a clear or coherent picture of the India of any particular period, nor does it, with perhaps a few exceptions, relate to the political and social set-up of the India of al-Idrīsī's time. The historical references concern mainly the ninth and the tenth centuries A.D., when three dynasties, the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras, the Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, struggled against one another for political supremacy in India. [1]

The towns and regions described by al-Idrīsī mostly belong to north-west India and Pakistan and the coastal regions of the southern peninsula, while only a few belong to other regions. This uneven distribution of information is due to the fact that the sources used by him themselves deal in greater detail with these areas than with the others. The information on the towns of Ceylon and some of the eastern regions is based on Ptolemy. Until al-Bīrūnī (d.c. 1048 A.D.) wrote on India, Arab knowledge of India cannot be considered at all complete or comprehensive. It seems, however, that his works did not reach our author, hence the lacunae in his knowledge of India. Again, it is doubtful whether he used the works of al-Mas'ūdī, whose account of India is partly based on his personal experiences in that country. [2] The majority of Arab accounts of India up to the time of al-Bīrūnī dealt with either the north-western regions or with the southern peninsula. The reason for this is probably that the Arabs of Sind were always at loggerheads with the neighbouring princes belonging to the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra dynasty. Hence they had little opportunity for social or cultural contact with northern or central India. On the other hand, the Arabs' contact with the south and with the coastal regions was very ancient, and was based on trade and commerce. The southern princes, known to the Arabs as the *Ballahrās* (Vallabha-rājas), who belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa

[1] For details, see Commentary under *Kings and Kingdoms* (Introductory part).

[2] He visited India in 915 A.D. and stayed there for two years. For details of his travels in India, see my article on 'Travels of Abu l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī' in *Islamic Culture*, vol. xxviii, no. 4, October, 1954, pp. 509-524.

dynasty, welcomed Arab merchants and travellers, gave them all facilities for trade, honoured their religion and treated them with respect.[1] This attitude, in fact, seems to have been one of political expediency. These princes were usually at war with those of the north, and the Arabs of Sind also being the enemies of the northern princes, they were treated as natural allies. Thus the Arabs were more intimate with the south, and their accounts cover these regions in greater detail than north or central India.

There is little original in al-Idrīsī's description of India, as it is mainly based on the works of previous authors. Since he had not visited India himself, he was not in a position to assess the real value of the information at his disposal, although the majority of the sources used by him are in fact authentic and trustworthy. The real merit of his account lies in the fact that it gathers together in one place varied information on India. Although the material presented was not always up to date, it must have served as a useful source of general information for Roger and for his contemporaries.

SOURCES USED BY AL-IDRĪSĪ

The sources of al-Idrīsī's knowledge of India may be divided into two categories: oral reports and written sources. It is very likely that he received reports on contemporary India from an agent or representative of the king sent to India for this purpose, or from merchants or travellers visiting Sicily. The description of Nahrwāra, its king and his ceremonials, and the habits of its people, seems to be based on such a source. As for written sources, the following were used by al-Idrīsī:

1. Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn Ḥauqal (c. 977 A.D.), the author of *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*,[2] is one of the main sources of al-Idrīsī. The information on Sind, Baluchistan and other western regions of India and Pakistan is borrowed from him. In many cases the information is copied word for word. Sometimes it has been misunderstood or changed. These mistakes have, as far as possible, been corrected in the present work.

---

[1] See Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 12; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, p. 382; I. Ḥauqal, ed. de Goeje, pp. 227-8; I. Ḥauqal, p. 320.
[2] *L'Italia*, Ar.T., p. 5.

2. The second author who is an important source of al-Idrīsī, is Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Khurradādhbih, the author of *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik.*[1] From this work al-Idrīsī has borrowed information on the coastal towns of Sind, Gujerat and Kathiawar, on the towns of the western and eastern coasts of the southern peninsula, and on Ceylon, Sumatra and the Nicobar Islands. Al-Idrīsī's information on the religions of India and the seven castes, and the report on the kings of India, also come from this source. Al-Idrīsī gives some additional information which is not traceable in the extant work of Ibn Khurradādhbih, which indicates that he may have used the more complete edition of Ibn Khurradādhbih's work. The material drawn from it is as inadequate and sketchy as it is in the source itself. The main defect of this source is that there is some confusion about the distances between the towns of south India. This, coupled with the absence of any details on the towns of this region, renders their identification difficult.

3. Al-Idrīsī also used the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*[2] of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Jayhānī,[3] who had used the original work of Ibn Khurradādhbih. The work of al-Jayhānī is lost and hence it is difficult to ascertain what material was drawn by al-Idrīsī from al-Jayhānī's lost work and what was drawn directly from the original work of Ibn Khurradādhbih. However, the close resemblance of the passages on the caste-system in India (Tr. pp. 36-38, §§ 8-14) in al Idrīsī with the similar passages in Marvazī, T., pp. 26-7 and Gardīzī, pp. 627-8, suggests that he drew this material from al-Jayhānī. At the beginning of the description of the 'seven classes (*gurūh*)' of the Indians, Gardīzī quotes al-Jayhānī as his authority (*Gardīzī*, p. 627) and in Minorsky's opinion, "Gardīzī's chapter on India contains a precious indication that his source is the lost work of Abū 'Abdallāh [Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad] Jayhānī. It is probable

---

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

[2] See V. Minorsky, 'A False Jayhānī', BSOAS, vol XIII, 1949-1950, pp. 89, 90, 95.

[3] In 302/914, he became vazir to the infant Sāmānid king of Bukhara, Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-331/914-943). See Minorsky, *ibid.*, p. 89. Al-Idrīsī mentions the name of this author as Abū Naṣr Sa'īd al-Jayhānī (*L'Italia*, Ar.T. p. 4).

that, in his turn, Jayhānī was using the text of Ibn Khurdādhbih much more complete than the abridgment of it published by de Goeje . . ." (*Gardīzī*, p. 626). Again, as Marvazī gives more details than Ibn Khurradādhbih, to whose statements Marvazī's data on the castes otherwise correspond almost word for word, "it would seem that he had at his disposal a more complete version of the original. More probably he obtained these additional details through the medium of Jayhānī" (Minorsky, *Marvazī*, p. 123). Besides the close resemblance of the texts of al-Idrīsī, Marvazī and Gardīzī, we find that al-Idrīsī gives some additional information on the Brahmans of India, viz. that they dressed in leopard-skins or skins of other (animals), and that they stood in public for a whole day with staffs in their hands, preaching to the people and reminding them of the Almighty God. This additional information is not found in either the published text of Ibn Khurradādhbih or *Gardīzī* or *Marvazī*. Al-Idrīsī may, therefore, have consulted the more complete edition of Ibn Khurradādhbih, but it is more probable that he drew his material from al-Jayhānī.

Furthermore, a comparison of the passages relating to the religious denominations (forty-two sects) (Tr., pp. 38-39 § 15) of the Indians with a similar but very short passage in Ibn Khurradādhbih, p. 71, shows that the information was derived from this last author, although whether directly or indirectly it is not possible to say. The first part of the text about belief and unbelief in God and the Prophets corresponds almost word for word with Ibn Khurradādhbih, but the remaining portion seems to be an incomplete enumeration of the different forms of worship, the details of some of which are found in *Marvazī*, pp. 28-34, *Gardīzī*, pp. 629 sqq. and Muṭahhar, pp. 9-19. Gardīzī quotes al-Jayhānī as his source of information on the 'communities' of India, but, whereas Gardīzī describes in great detail the various forms of worship and classes of worshippers, al-Idrīsī merely refers to some of them very briefly, as though he were making a précis of the total information at his disposal. Similarly, detailed information is given on these sects by Marvazī, who "used the Arabic original of Jayhānī independently of Gardīzī". [1] Minorsky has conclusively

[1] Minorsky, *Marvazī*, p. 127.

shown that this set of facts existed in Ibn Khurradādhbih's original work, and that, although al-Jayhānī may have been acquainted with the primary report (i.e. that of Yaḥyā b. Khālid's envoy), it is more probable that he took his facts from I. Khur. [1]

That al-Idrīsī sometimes utilized al-Jayhānī's data is indicated by his quoting al-Jayhānī as the source of his information that the kings of India used the horn of the rhinoceros for making the handles of knives used at meals (Tr. p. 31, § 37).

4. *Kitāb al-'Ajā'ib.* Al-Idrīsī made use of the *'ajā'ib* (marvel) literature. While tracing the source of the M.slī river, he mentions as the source of his information a certain *Ṣāḥib Kitāb al-'Ajā'ib.* [2] Elsewhere he mentions Ḥassān Ibn al-Mundhir as the author of a *Kitāb al-'Ajā'ib.* [3] In his Introduction, al-Idrīsī attributes a *Kitāb al-'Ajā'ib* to al-Mas'ūdī. [4] A work belonging to the category of marvel literature edited by 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣāwī with the title *Akhbār al-Zamān* is also attributed to al-Mas'ūdī. [5] There are certain passages common to this work and al-Idrīsī's present account of India. [6] Again, in the Aligarh Muslim University Library

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Commenting on al-Idrīsī's reference to the *Ṣāhib Kitāb al-'Ajā'ib* in his account of the British Isles, Beeston points out that 'this as we know from elsewhere in Idrisi's work, means Mas'ūdī. However, this passage is not to be found in his extant works, although similar notices are copied in later geographical and "marvel" literature' (A. F. L. Beeston, 'Idrisi's Account of the British Isles', BSOAS vol. XIII, 1949-50, p. 273).

[3] See *Description de l'Afrique*, p. 23. J. H. Kramers points out that should this work be identical with the *Kitāb al-'Ajā'ib al-Arba'a* by Hishām Abu 'l-Mundhir Ibn al-Kalbī, this author would be the first writer on general geographical matters in Islamic literature (E. I., Suppl., s.v. Djughrāfiyā).

[4] See *L'Italia*, Ar. Text, p. 4.

[5] Cairo, 1938. This work is largely based on a photostat copy of the original MS. in Paris. The editor has utilized another MS. and the history of al-Qaramānī, entitled *Akhbār al-Duwal wa'Āthār al-'Uwal* for collation (See Introduction, pp. س & ج). The work seems to be identical with the one translated into French by Carra de Vaux, under the title of *L'Abrégé des merveilles.*

[6] Renaud believed that al-Idrīsī had at his disposal the *Murūj al-Dhahab* and the *Kitāb al-'Ajā'ib* of al-Mas'ūdī, from both of which he borrowed whole passages (*Géographie*, p. cxvi). This fact, however, is not evident from a comparison of the *Murūj* with the present work of al-Idrīsī. César E. Dubler's conclusion that al-Idrīsī's main source for the eastern countries was a work of *'ajā'ib*, very similar to the text translated by Carra de Vaux under the title *L'Abrégé des merveilles* (*Asiatische Studien*, Bern 1956, p. 51),

there exists a MS. entitled *'Ajā'ib al-Dunyā.* The title given in the colophon is: *Kitāb al-'Ajā'ib,* and this work is also attributed to al-Mas'ūdī.[1] A comparison of this work with the *Akhbār al-Zamān* (Cairo edition) shows that with the exception of some variations in readings and some additions or omissions, the two are essentially the same both in form and content. In the Library of the University of Leiden, there exists another MS. entitled *Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al-Zamān,* etc., and Dr. P. Voorhoeve in his *Handlist* points out that this is the book translated by Carra de Vaux under the title: *L'Abrégé des merveilles.*[2]

Brockelmann has expressed the view that *Akhbār al-Zamān wa'Ajā'ib al-Buldān* or *Mukhtaṣar al-'Ajā'ib wa'l-Gharā'ib* (existing in the Paris MSS. used by Carra de Vaux and al-Ṣāwī) is an anonymous abridgment of al-Mas'ūdī's main work *Akhbār al-Zamān*[3] with additional information on the Indian Ocean drawn from the *Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al-Hind* of al-Rāmhurmuzī.[4] A similar view is

does not seem to be correct, for my comparison of al-Idrīsī's account of India with the *'ajā'ib*-literature (*Abrégé, Akhbār al-Zamān,* Cairo edition, and the Aligarh MS.) shows that it does not form the main source of al-Idrīsī's information on the eastern countries. There were other and more important sources which he utilized and which have been discussed in the present Introduction.

[1] Manuscript Section, Aligarh Muslim University Library: MS. No. 36/1, Quṭbuddīn Collection. The MS. is dated 12th Jumādā II, 982 A.H. It contains 336 pages; size 7¼" × 5". The title of the work as given on page 1 is: كتاب عجائب الدنيا للمسعودى – وما فيها من الجزائر والعجائب والملوك والكهّان والأهرام والبرابى.

The last words of the MS. are: تم الكتاب بعون الله ومنه وفضله وهذا ما انتهى الينا من كتاب العجائب على التمام والكمال ونعوذ بالله من الزيادة والنقصان (الخ).

Ḥājjī Khalīfa (*Kashf,* IV, p. 186) gives the name of the author of *'Ajā'ib al-Dunyā* as al-Mas'ūdī, Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn, whereas the name of the historian was 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī.

[2] See *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts,* compiled by P. Voorhoeve, Leiden 1957, p. 4. The full title of the work is: *Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al-Zamān wa-mā abādahu 'l-Ḥadathān wa'Ajā'ib al-Buldān wal-Ghāmir bil-Mā' wal-'Umrān* (title from the colophon).

[3] For full title see *Tanbīh,* p. 2. It dealt with the history of the world up to 332 A.H./943-44 A.D. (*Murūj,* I, pp. 2-4, 21) and contained thirty chapters (*funūn*) in all (*ibid.* III, p. 38). Al-Mas'ūdī proudly refers to it as 'our greatest book'. Cf. Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* I, pp. 186-7.

[4] *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur, Suppl.* I, p. 221.

expressed by ʻAbd Allāh al-Ṣāwī, who holds that *Akhbār al-Zamān* (Cairo edition) is an abridgment of a small portion of the main work of al-Masʻūdī, and had it not been complete with an ending chapter (*khātima*), he would have said that it was part of al-Masʻūdī's lost work. [1]

G. Wiet has pointed out that *L'Abrégé de merveilles* is composed of two parts: the first, pp. 3-157, devoted to marvels of creation and the history of the prophets, is attributed to al-Masʻūdī, and as a matter of fact the majority of Maqrīzī's quotations, which refer to the *Akhbār al-Zamān*, are found in it; the materials contained in the second part, pp. 161-402, concern ancient Egypt and are to be found almost completely in Nuwayri and Maqrīzī, both of whom range themselves behind Ibn Waṣīf Shāh. Consequently, Wiet says, Seybold's argument taken up by Ferrand relating to the activity of Ibn Waṣīf Shāh about the year 1000 A.D., falls to the ground, since it is al-Masʻūdī's text that mentions the presence of the Umayyad dynasty in Spain. [2]

Apparently Wiet seems to have arrived at a sound conclusion, but there remains the problem of whether even the first part of *L'Abrégé des merveilles*, which is attributed to al-Masʻūdī and which has passages identical with those in Maqrīzī, is a portion of al-Masʻūdī's major work, *Akhbār al-Zamān*. It seems to me that in the Cairo edition it lacks the style, originality of thought, and critical approach to the material which we know from al-Masʻūdī's other works. Whether the first part of the Cairo edition (or of the Aligarh MS.) is an abridgment of a small portion of al-Masʻūdī's *Akhbār al-Zamān* or of its abridgment *al-Ausaṭ*, or whether the author merely used al-Masʻūdī's works as a source of information and borrowed some information from them, can only be decided after comparison of the various MSS. of *Akhbār al-Zamān*, *Mukhtaṣar al ʻAjā'ib*, or *ʻAjā'ib al-Dunya* with the available authentic extracts from al-Masʻūdī's main work and with the texts of other authors, who had seen or had used al-Masʻūdī's main work.

---

[1] *Akhbār al-Zamān*, Introduction, p. ی.

[2] See G. Wiet, Preface to *L'Egypte de Murtadi*, p. 5. Mr. A. J. W. Huisman, Assistant Keeper of Oriental MSS., Leiden University Library, has very kindly drawn my attention to this publication.

5. Al-Idrīsī also used the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* by al-Jāḥiẓ, [1] from which he related the legend that the mother rhinoceros carried her young in her womb for seven years. He considered this habit rather incredible, but he does not seem to have consulted al-Mas'ūdī, who had gone to the length of verifying the correctness of al-Jāḥiẓ's report by questioning the travellers of Sīrāf and 'Umān and the merchants of India when he was there, and had found that there was no truth in it. [2]

6. The Geography of Claudius Ptolemy (c. 90-186 A.D.) constituted an important source of al-Idrīsī's knowledge of India and Ceylon, and his maps served as the basis of our author's cartography. In all probability, he used an Arabic translation or adaptation of Ptolemy's work, but it is not certain which one. Many of the towns and ports of Ceylon, and some belonging to the north-eastern regions of India, can be traced in al-Khwārizmī's *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*. There is little doubt, however, that al-Idrīsī had at his disposal a copy of Ptolemy's world map, which formed the basis of his sectional maps.

I should like to thank the Trustees of the De Goeje Fund very sincerely for accepting this work for publication in their series, 'De Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij' Ltd. for a generous subvention towards the cost of printing, given through the intermediary of The Leiden University Fund, and the Curators of the Bodleian Library for permission to publish three maps from the Greaves MS. I am also personally indebted to the Chairman of the Trustees, Professor Joseph Schacht, for much guidance and encouragement in my studies of Arab Geography, and to the Honorary Secretary of the Fund, Dr. P. Voorhoeve, for kindly volunteering to verify certain references to works not available to me in India.

Much of the material in the present work was incorporated in the thesis which I submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Oxford. I was very fortunate to have had Sir Hamilton Gibb as the supervisor of my studies, and I should like to take this opportunity of thanking him for his valuable

[1] Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255 A.H./868-9 A.D.).
[2] *Murūj*, I, pp. 387-88. Cf. *Ḥayawān*, VII, pp. 40-41.

advice and guidance. Throughout my studies I have had the great benefit of the constant support, encouragement and advice of Professor V. Minorsky, whose personal interest in my work, as well as the example of his own works, has been a source of inspiration to me.

Others who have contributed to any merits which the present work may have, without in any way being responsible for its shortcomings, are: the late Professor J. Ph. Vogel, Professor K. B. M. Muhammad Shafi, and Dr. P. Voorhoeve, who sent me valuable observations on the draft of the present work and the published Arabic text; Professor Abdul Aleem, who went through the text and the translation and made useful suggestions; Dr. Ziauddin Alavi, who helped me in the construction of the maps; and Syed Bashiruddin, Librarian, Aligarh Muslim University, and Dr. Muhibbul Hasan, who assisted me in procuring a number of texts. Finally, I should like to thank my wife, Dr. Audrey J. Ahmad, who has not only rendered me valuable assistance in such matters as typing the manuscript and reading with me secondary sources in various European languages, but has also made a number of useful suggestions on subject-matter and forms of names. Her continuous and ready assistance made it possible for the present work to be accomplished.

Aligarh
August 6, 1959.

S. MAQBUL AHMAD

TRANSLATION

[EIGHTH SECTION OF THE FIRST CLIME]

§ 1. This Eighth Section of the First Clime includes in its area the remaining portion of the land of SUFĀLA. In it are two towns, which look like villages; these are followed by other villages and wandering tribes like the Arabs. As for the two towns, they are JANṬAMA and DANDAMA, situated along the coast of the SALT SEA. These two are small towns resembling collections of villages. Their inhabitants are petty and are vile by nature. They do not possess anything with which to carry on their trade and earn their living, except iron. This is so because in the land of SUFĀLA there are a number of iron mines in the mountains there.

§ 2. The inhabitants of the *ZĀBAJ Islands and other residents of the surrounding islands go there and, exporting it [the iron] from there, supply it to all the lands of India and to its various islands. They sell it at a good price, because in India most of the trade and exchange is in iron. Nevertheless, although iron is found in the islands of India, and there are also mines of it there, in the land of SUFĀLA it is found in the largest quantities, most superior in quality and most malleable.

§ 3. But the Indians are very good at making various compounds of mixtures of substances with the help of which they melt the malleable iron; it then turns into Indian iron, and is called after India. There [in India], there are workshops where swords are manufactured, and their craftsmen make excellent ones surpassing those made by other peoples. In the same way, the Sindī, Sarandībī and the Baynimānī [1] iron vie with one another for superiority as regards the climate of the place, skill in industry, the method of melting and stamping and beauty in polishing and scouring. But no iron is comparable to the Indian one in sharpness. This is a well-known fact, and no-one can deny its superiority. .

§ 4. . . . Among the islands in this section drawn in their respective

[1] See Commentary: al-Baynimān, under *Islands*; see also Iron, under *Flora, fauna, etc.*

places, there are the *DĪBAJĀT Islands. They are close to one another, and innumerable, and most of them are uninhabited. The largest of them is the ANB.RIYA Island. It is inhabited, and has a large population living in it [1] and in the big islands around it. The QUMR Island adjoins them . . .

§ 5. All these islands have a chief (*ra'īs*), who unites them, protects and defends them, and makes truce according to his ability. His wife acts as an arbitrator among the people and does not veil herself from them. When she issues any orders, her husband, the chief, although he is present, does not interfere with any of her ordinances. It has always been a custom with them that women arbitrate, [2] a custom from which they do not depart. This queen is called DMHRA [*DHARMA ?]. She wears garments of woven gold, and her headwear is a crown of gold studded with various kinds of rubies and precious stones. She wears gold sandals. [3]

§ 6. In these islands nobody wears sandals except this queen alone, and if anyone is found wearing sandals, his feet are amputated.

§ 7. On ceremonial occasions and the feast-days of her sect, this queen rides with her slave-girls behind her, in a full procession of elephants, banners and trumpets, while the king and all other ministers follow her at a distance. This queen has riches, which she collects by means of certain known taxes, [4] and she then gives in charity the wealth thus acquired to the needy inhabitants of her country on that day [the day of her appearance]. She does not distribute any portion of her charity except when she is present and watching. Her subjects hang various kinds of silk garments along her routes and in the places she passes, and she wears magnificent attire, as we described before.

§ 8. Among these islands, ANB.RIYA Island is the residence of this queen and her husband.

§ 9. The merchandise of the inhabitants of the above-mentioned

---

[1] Jaubert, I, p. 67: 'qui la cultivent et qui cultivent aussi . . .

[2] The first part of this and the whole of the preceding sentence are omitted in Jaubert, I, p. 67, and also in Ferrand, I, p. 177.

[3] §§ 5-7: Idrīsī's source of information on the Maldive Islands and the queen thereof is not known; apparently it was some unknown traveller.

[4] Jaubert, I, p. 68, translates: 'dans des caveaux', perhaps reading من جبايات as في خزائن, a reading which I have not come across.

*DĪBAJĀT Islands is *al-dhabl* [shell of the sea-turtle]. {The *dhabl* is the back of certain sea-animals. They lay their eggs on land, hide them under sand, and then disappear from them for a certain number of days. Then, by divine inspiration, they return to them on the day of their hatching. The eggs of the *dhabl* [sea-turtle], [1] unlike those of hens and other birds, have no shells, but they resemble the yolk of the egg, that is, its yellow part. Collectors of these eggs follow the track of this animal. There is no difference between its physical constitution and that of the tortoise (*sulaḥfāt*). Its meat is nice and tasty. I have eaten it more than once at ʿAYDHĀB, and I have also eaten the eggs of this animal. It is hunted on the coasts of the Red Sea. The Buja people make bangles for the arms and rings for their womenfolk out of its shell, and vie with one another in pride in it. I have seen in ʿAYDHĀB its eggs being sold by weight.} [2] Tortoise-shell (*dhabl*) [3] is found on tortoises (*salāḥif*). It comprises seven pieces, and no more than that, on one single tortoise. Four of these pieces are equal to one *mann* in weight, and the total weight of a *mann* is two hundred and sixty *dirhams*. The least that can weigh against one *mann* is two of these pieces.

§ 10. Out of this tortoise-shell (*dhabl*), ornaments and combs are made, because it is solid and is extremely colourful and has a smooth surface. The women of this island go about with their heads uncovered. They have their hair plaited, and each woman wears ten combs, or more or less, on her head. And this comprises their ornament . . .

§ 11. . . . These islands known as the *DĪBAJĀT Islands are inhabited by people. Coconuts and sugar-cane are cultivated in

---

[1] The word ذبل is used by Idrīsī both for the shell and for the sea-turtle. See Commentary: Dhabl, under *Flora, fauna, etc.*

[2] The passage in { } is only found in MS. Poc., fol. 35b. It seems to be an interpolation which does not form part of our author's original work. Although there is no internal evidence to this effect, as there is in the case of another passage (see § 37 below in this section), the fact that it is not found in other MSS., and the way in which the narrator (copyist?) introduces his personal experience, which is unusual for Idrīsī, make me doubtful whether it is Idrīsī's own.

[3] Here it is used for the shell of the tortoise.

them. [1] They use cowry-shells (*al-wadʿ*) as a means of exchange.

§ 12. Between one island and another, there is a distance of six miles, more or less.

§ 13. Their king accumulates cowry-shells in his treasures, and these comprise most of his possessions.

§ 14. The inhabitants of these islands are accomplished and skilful craftsmen. For example, they weave a shirt with its two sleeves, its gores and its pocket, all in one piece. [2] They build boats of small pieces of wood, and build substantial houses and other excellent buildings of hard stones. They also construct wooden houses that float on water, and sometimes use perfumed sandal-wood in their buildings by way of pride and display. [3]

§ 15. It is said that these cowries (*al-wadʿ*), which their king collects, come to them on the surface of the water while they are alive. So they take branches of the coconut-tree and throw them on the water. Then these cowries (*al-wadʿ*) cling to them. They call them *al-kunj*. [4]

§ 16. In some of these islands there appears a kind of fluid resembling pitch, which burns the fishes in the sea so that they float on the surface of the water.

§ 17. The last of these islands joins SARANDĪB from its rear side, [5] in the sea called HARKAND, and the island of QUMR adjoins

[1] Cf. *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 3; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, I, pp. 184, 335-8; *Akhbār al-Zamān*, p. 37; *Abrégé*, p. 58. None of these writers mentions the cultivation of sugar-cane in these islands. The sentence 'They use cowry-shells', etc., taken with §§ 13 and 15, closely resembles the text in *Akhbār al-Zamān*, p. 37; cf. also MS. Q., p. 30.

[2] Cf. Jaubert, I, p. 68: 'Ils fabriquent des tuniques très amples, ouvertes par en haut et garnies de poches'. Cf. Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p 3, who uses دخريصين for gores, whereas our author uses بنائق, for this was the colloquial word used in al-Maghrib (North African dialect); see Sauvaget, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, pp. 35-6, note 4(8).

[3] § 14: cf. *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 3; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, I, p. 337. Compared with these writers, Idrīsī gives more detailed information.

[4] الكنج (conch). Cf. Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 3: الكستج; Bīrūnī, ed. Togan, p. 77: كوده. The word used in India today for this shell is *kauṛī* although it has fallen into disuse as money. See Commentary: The Small Islands, under *Islands*.

[5] Cf. Jaubert, I, p. 69: 'La dernière de ces îles touche à celle de Serendib. "par un de ses côtés les plus élevés" . . .'

these islands called *DĪBAJĀT. There is a distance of seven days' journey between the two ... In this island cloths of hemp [1] are made. Hemp is a plant resembling the papyrus, which is paper. It is so called because the Egyptians make paper out of it. So the artisans select the best of it [hemp] and make soft and beautiful cloths like brocade out of it. These cloths are exported to all parts of India; and sometimes they reach Yemen, where they are worn ...

§ 18. . . . Among the well-known islands of this sea called HARKAND is the island of SARANDĪB. It is a large and widely-known island. It is 80 *farsakhs* by 80 *farsakhs* [in area].

§ 19. In this [island] there is the mountain upon which Adam descended. This mountain has a lofty summit and a high peak, rising into the sky, which sailors can see from their boats from a distance of several days' [journey]. This mountain is called the Mountain of AL-RUHŪN. The Brahmans, who are the devotees of India, state that on this mountain the footmark of Adam,—may peace be upon him!—is imprinted in the stone, and that its length is seventy cubits, and that there is a light (*nūr*) that permanently shines over this footmark like lightning, and that the second step, when he took it, went into the sea. The sea is at a distance of two or three days' journey from this mountain. [2]

§ 20. On and around this mountain all kinds of rubies and various types of precious stones, etc., are found. In its rivers diamonds are found, which are used for engraving delicate patterns on ring-stones [made] of different kinds of stones. A variety of scents and various types of perfumes, such as aloes-wood, and aromatics, the musk[-producing] animal [the deer] and the civet cat [lit.: the *zabād*(-producing) animal] are also found on this mountain. It grows rice, coconuts and sugar-cane. In its rivers crystal, including large-sized pieces, is to be found, [3] and on all

[1] See Commentary: Ḥashīsh cloth, under *Flora, fauna, etc.*

[2] § 19: The source of Idrīsī's information on Ceylon seems to be I. Khur., p. 64. Cf *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 4; *Akhbār al-Zamān*, pp 34-5; *Abrégé*, pp. 54-5: Muqaddasī, pp. 13-14; Qazwīnī, *ʿAjāʾib*, p. 164; Rāzī, p. 29. On the mountain and the light, see Commentary: al-Ruhūn, under *Mountains*.

[3] Cf. Jaubert, I, p. 7. He explains rather than translates this sentence. See Commentary: Rubies of Ceylon, under *Flora, fauna, etc.*

its coasts, there are diving-beds of excellent, precious and costly pearls. [1]

§ 21. The well-known towns of the island of SARANDĪB are: MARQĀYĀ, AGHNĀ, FOROSQŪRĪ, ABD.DHY, MĀKHAULŪN, ḤĀM.RY, QALAMĀDHĪ, SANDŪNĀ, SANDŪRĀ, TYBRY, KNBLY, BRUNSHLY, MURŪNA.

§ 22. The king of this island lives in the town of AGHNĀ. It is the palace town and the seat of his government. The king is just, full of diplomacy, and vigilant in matters of defense. He supervises the affairs of his subjects, guards them and defends them.

§ 23. He has sixteen ministers, of whom four belong to his own faith, four are Christians, four are Muslims and four Jews. He has assigned to them a place where the followers of these faiths meet and have disputations on their religions. Each one of them brings forth his argument and presents his proof in support of his religion, and the king permits them to do all this, and has their arguments and information recorded. Various groups of people and numerous parties of men gather round the scholars of each of these faiths, I mean the Indian, the Roman, the Islamic and the Judaic. Then they record from them the life-histories and the stories of their prophets of the past, and [the scholars] educate them in their various religious paths, and explain to them the things they do not know.

§ 24. The king has an idol of gold in his temple, [2] and the value of the pearls, rubies and different kinds of [precious] stones on it cannot be assessed.

§ 25. None of the kings of India possesses as much wealth as the ruler of SARANDĪB in the form of precious pearls, magnificent rubies, and different kinds of stones, for most of these are found in the mountains, rivers, and seas of his island. This island is visited

---

[1] § 20: This also seems to be copied from I. Khur., p. 64, but contains more information than is given by I. Khur. Sugar cane is not mentioned in I. Khur. Marco Polo mentions rice as one of the products of Ceylon (Yule, II, p. 313), and before him Ma Huan also spoke of it (*ibid.*, p. 315).

[2] Jaubert, I, p. 73, translates: 'Ce roi tient à la main', probably preferring the reading: بيده (T. Cl. I, s. 8, § 24a) to ببده. In my printed text I ventured the emendation فى بره, 'in his land', a reading which is confirmed by MS. Köprülü 955 f. 27b.

by the boats of the Chinese and of all the neighbouring kingdoms.

§ 26. Wine from ʿIrāq and from the land of Fārs is imported for the king of SARANDĪB, who purchases it with his wealth, and then it is sold in his country. He himself drinks it, but considers fornication unlawful and does not think it [proper]. But the kings of India and its people permit fornication, and consider intoxicating wine unlawful, except the king of QIMĀR. He prohibits both fornication and wine.[1]

§ 27. From SARANDĪB, silk, rubies of all colours, crystal, diamonds, emery, and an abundant variety of perfumes are imported.[2]

§ 28. Between this island and the land adjoining India, it is a small *majrā*.[3]

§ 29. From the island of SARANDĪB to the coastal island of *BALLĪN (?),[4] it is one day's journey [by sea]. Opposite this island, which belongs to India, there are *'aghbāb*. These are estuaries (*'ajwān*) into which rivers fall, and are called the 'AGHBĀB OF SARANDĪB.[5] Travelling boats[6] enter them and pass a month or two amongst thickets and meadows in a temperate climate.[7]

§ 30. Here a goat costs half a *dirham*, and honey-wine cooked with fresh cardamom seeds, sufficient for a whole company of men, costs half a *dirham*.[8]

§ 31. The games of the inhabitants of SARANDĪB comprise chess, backgammon, and gambling of various kinds.[9]

§ 32. The people of SARANDĪB pay attention to the cultivation

[1] § 26: cf. I. Khur., pp. 66-7, who seems to be Idrīsī's source of information. Minorsky has shown the primary source of this information to be the traveller named Abū ʿAbdillāh Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who spent two years in Khmer, and to whom I. Rust., p. 132, attributes the well-known report on the prohibition of fornication and wine, which has been reproduced by the majority of Arab geographers (*Marvazi*, p. 153).

[2] Cf. I. Khur., p. 70.

[3] Jaubert, I, p. 73: 'il n'y a qu'une petite journée de navigation.' مجرى in MS. Grav. Others: مجاز (T. Cl. I, s. 8, § 28a).

[4] Jaubert, I, p. 73: Balanc, بلنق.

[5] See Commentary: al-'Aghbāb, under *Seas, etc.*

[6] Read: المراكب.

[7] Cf. *Akhbār al-Zamān*, p. 40; *Abrégé*, p. 63, Abū Zayd, II, p. 123.

[8] See Appendix A: *Dirham*

[9] *Abrégé*, p. 63, mentions that the inhabitants of Ceylon pass most of their time playing backgammon and chess. Cf. Abū Zayd, II, pp. 123-4; Ferrand, *Voyage*, p. 121; *Akhbār al-Zamān*, p. 40.

of coconuts in the Small Islands [1] situated along its various routes. They take care in preserving this plant and make it available to visitors [2] in expectation of compensation and reward. Often the inhabitants of Oman and MARBAṬ, belonging to Yemen, go to these islands where coconuts are found. They cut the wood of any coconut-tree they like and make rope out of its fibres, with which they tie this wood. Out of it they construct boats and build their masts, and with its leaf they twine ropes. Then they load these boats with coconut-wood and set out for their countries with it. There they sell it and use it in various ways. [3]

§ 33. Adjoining the island of SARANDĪB is the island of AL-RĀMĪ. AL-RĀMĪ is a town of India and has a number of kings. A variety of corn is produced there, and there are mines and perfumes. It is mentioned that its length is 700 *farsakhs*.

§ 34. The animal called *al-karkaddan* is to be found there. This animal is smaller than the elephant and bigger than the buffalo. In its neck there is some wryness like that in the camel's neck, but this wryness is opposite to that in the camel's neck. Its head is very close to [lit.: immediately adjoins] its forelegs and in the middle of its forehead there is a long horn [attached] to the rough [surface] of two grips.

§ 35. It is stated that, on splitting some of these horns, one finds inside them the image of a human being or that of some bird, or some other images, which are perfect in shape, and white-coloured. Out of such a horn containing an image, girdles of very high price are made. The image found in it runs through from one end to the other.

§ 36. Al-Jāḥiẓ has related in his *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* that this animal lives in its mother's womb for seven years, and that, in order to eat grass, it brings out its head and neck from its mother's opening, and [having eaten] it withdraws its head into its mother's womb. And when its horn begins to grow, it is prevented from

---

[1] See Commentary: Small Islands, under *Islands*.

[2] Lit.: 'those who depart and arrive'.

[3] There is a similar account in Abū Zayd, II, pp. 130 1, although Idrīsī's language is somewhat different. Reinaud compares the passage in Abū Zayd to a passage in *Kitāb al-ʿAjāʾib* (*man. ar. de la Bibl. roy. anc. fonds*, no. 901 [now Bibl. Nat. Ms. ar. 1470], fol. 25). Abū Zayd, II, Note 212, pp. 57-8.

bringing out [its head] for eating in accordance with its habit; so it pierces through its mother's womb and splits it open. Thus it comes out and the mother dies. This statement of his is absurd and unheard of, for if the case had been as he has described, this species would have become extinct, and only the male of it would have been found.

§ 37. Al-Jayhānī has stated in his book that the kings of India use the horn of this animal for making handles of knives used at meals. {I say that I saw a knife-handle, as beautiful as a piece of ruby, except that a piece of ruby is all of one colour. I touched this piece [handle] that I have just mentioned with my own hand on the day when it was presented, together with a collection of other gifts, to the Sulṭān Barqūq by my generous friend, the merchant Ibrāhīm ibn al-Majallī. This was in the year 792 A.H. This piece had red and yellow streaks in it, and was as beautiful as a piece of ruby would be. My generous friend, Ibrāhīm ibn al-Majallī, told me, when he presented it to the Sulṭān, that it was made out of the beak of a bird found in some part of India. It is hunted there, and the section of the upper half of its beak is acquired. Then the craftsmen of that country make [1] handles and rings out of it as they please. Then, when food is placed before them, if it contains poison, this handle secretes moisture, by which it becomes known that the food is poisoned.} [2]

§ 38. The island of AL-RĀMĪ has excellent soil and a temperate climate. Its waters are sweet. In it are a number of towns and villages. It has lofty mountains, [3] and in this island *baqqam* grows. Its plant resembles that of the rhododendron in its blackness. Its wood is red, and its roots are used as an antidote against the

---

[1] The actual reading in the text is فتنحت, but read: فصنعت.

[2] The passage in { } is found in MS. Pcc., fol. 37a-37b. This passage does not seem to have belonged to the original work of Idrīsī, although at first sight, if one ignores the date, it appears to do so. A closer examination reveals that it must be an interpolation by a writer other than our author, may be by the copyist of this MS. The narrator starts off by saying, 'I say that', which is rather unusual for Idrīsī. Secondly, the date 792 A.H./1390 A.D. does not fall within the lifetime of Idrīsī, who lived in the 12th Century A.D. This passage, therefore, can be taken not as belonging to Idrīsī, but as an interpolation in his work

[3] مَعْقِل, pl. مَعَاقِل.

poisoning caused by vipers and snakes. It has been used experimentally in such cases and found to be effective. In this island buffaloes are found, but they have no tails.[1]

§ 39. The thickets of this island are inhabited by naked people [monkeys?][2] whose language is incomprehensible. They are afraid of human beings. Each man is four spans in height and has a small penis. Similarly, their women have narrow pudenda. They have downy red hair. They hang on the trees by their hands without any support from the legs, and because of their speed cannot be overtaken. The coastal parts of this island are inhabited by a people who reach the boats by swimming, while the boats sail on with a favourable wind. They sell amber in exchange for iron from the captains of the boats, and carry it in their mouths.

§ 40. Gold is exported from this island, as there are abundant mines of it there. From here fine camphor, different varieties of aromatics, and pearls of excellent quality are also exported. From this island to SARANDĪB it is three days' [journey by sea].

§ 41. Anyone intending to go to China from the *BALLĪN (?) Island mentioned above has to keep SARANDĪB Island on his right.[3]

§ 42. From SARANDĪB to the island of *LANKABĀLŪS, it is a journey of ten days [by sea]. This island is also called *LANJABĀLŪS with 'j' [ج]. It is a big island, and has a large white population. Here men and women live naked, but sometimes women cover themselves with the leaves of trees.

§ 43. Merchants visit them in boats big and small, and buy amber and coconuts from the inhabitants in exchange for iron. Most of its inhabitants purchase clothes and wear them occasionally.

---

[1] Cf. *Akhbār al-Zamān*, p. 35; MS. Q., p. 27.

[2] See Commentary: Naked people, under *Flora, fauna, etc.*

[3] §§ 41-44: Although Idrīsī gives much more information in these paragraphs than I. Khur., p. 66, does, there is little doubt that the latter is partly the source of Idrīsī's information, as the data in §§ 43 and 48 is identical with I. Khur.'s. §§ 43 and 44 and parts of § 42 in Idrīsī are identical with the information given by Sulaymān (*Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, pp. 5, 8), and the variant reading of the name given by Idrīsī, لنجبالوس, is exactly the same as that given by Sulaymān. Cf. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, pp. 338-9. It seems, therefore, that Idrīsī has combined the information given by I. Khur. with that which he drew from some other source, probably the *Kitāb al-'Ajā'ib* which he quotes on p. 65 § 47.

§ 44. There is little heat and cold on this island because of their [*sic*] proximity to the Equator.

§ 45. The food of its inhabitants consists of bananas,[1] fresh fish, and coconut. Iron is their wealth and main merchandise.[2] They sit in the company of merchants.

§ 46. Towards the south of the island of AL-RĀMĪ, there is an island called AL-BAYNIMĀN. It is an inhabited island and has a large town on it. The food of the people consists of coconut, which they use as a condiment, and they also prepare beverages of it. They are a very hardy and courageous people. One of their traditions and customs, which the sons inherit from the fathers, is that if anyone from among them intends to marry any of their women, the relatives of the woman do not give her to him in marriage until he brings to them the head of a man killed by him. So, the man goes out wandering round the whole of the neighbouring region until he kills a man and returns with the skull of the head. And when he has done that, he marries the woman to whom he is betrothed. If he brings two skulls, he marries two women; similarly, if he brings three skulls, he marries three women; and if he kills fifty men, he marries fifty women, and his countrymen bear witness to his boldness and courage, and regard him with pride and respect. In this island there are many elephants, and it has *baqqam*, bamboos and sugar cane (*al-qaṣab*).[3]

§ 47. Close to it is the island of JĀLŪS, and the distance between the two is of two days' journey. Its inhabitants are black and naked and cannibal. That is because if a foreigner falls into their hands, they hang him upside down and cut him up into pieces and eat him piece by piece. A sea captain related that the inhabitants of this island once seized one of his companions. He watched them while they hung him up and cut him into pieces and ate him. These people have no king. Their food consists of fish, bananas, coconut and sugar-cane. They have places where they take shelter. These look like swamps, covered with trees and thickets. Their vegetation consists mostly of bamboos. They remain quite naked.

---

[1] Jaubert, I, p. 76, adds 'figs' before bananas. I do not know the source of his information.

[2] Cf. *Marvazī*, pp. 57-8.

[3] Cf. Sulaymān, *Akhbār al Ṣīn*, p. 4.

covering themselves with nothing at all. The same is the case with their women. Again, they do not perform conjugal intercourse secretly, but do it publicly, which they do not consider harmful. Sometimes a man does so with his daughter or with his sister, and does not consider it a shameful or an ugly act. These people are black, and have repulsive faces, curly hair, long necks and shanks, and are absolutely ugly. Between AL-BAYNIMĀN and the island of SARANDĪB, it is three *majrās*.[1]

§ 48. From SARANDĪB to the island of *LANJABĀLŪS, also called *LANKABĀLŪS, it is ten *majrās*,[2] and from *LANJABĀLŪS to the island of KALA, it is six days' journey [by sea]. We shall presently mention this island in what follows, with the power of the Almighty God. The Eighth Section of the First Clime comes to an end here, and praise be to God! It will be followed by the Ninth Section of the said Clime by the will of God.

[NINTH SECTION OF THE FIRST CLIME]

§ 1. . . . Throughout India and China neither grapes nor figs are found.[3] What is found there is the fruit of a tree called *al-s̲h̲akī* and *al-barkī*. These are mostly found in the land of pepper.[4] This tree has a thick trunk, and its leaf resembles that of the cabbage, and is brilliant green. It has fruits, each of which is four spans in length, round, and resembling the water-melon. It has a red husk, and inside it there are seeds resembling those of an acorn. It is roasted in the fire and eaten like the chestnut. Both taste alike. The pulp of this fruit, when eaten, is found to be very appetizing and tasty, combining the fragrance of the apple, the scent of the pear, and some taste of banana and bdellium. It is a fruit of wonderful quality and appetizing taste, and is eaten in abundance in India.

§ 2. In India there is another plant called *al-'Anbā*. Its tree is huge and resembles the walnut tree. Its leaves are also like those of this last. It has a fruit like the fruit of the bdellium, sweet,

---

[1] T.: مجاز, but read *مجار.

[2] § 48: cf. I. K̲h̲ur., p. 66, who gives this distance as from ten to fifteen days' journey; cf. § 42 above.

[3] See Commentary: Grapes, under *Flora, fauna, etc.*

[4] Meaning the Malabar Coast.

and has knots when unripe.[1] At this stage it is gathered and mixed with vinegar. It tastes like olives. It is considered by them as one of the delicious condiments . . .

[TENTH SECTION OF THE FIRST CLIME]

§ 1. . . . All Indians and Chinese punish the thief by execution, and restore the trust [to the owner]. They administer justice among themselves without any recourse to a judge or an arbitrator.[2] They do all this naturally, by force of habit and character, in which they are brought up and to which they are accustomed[3] . . .

§ 2. . . . Again, in this Sea of China, and in the adjoining seas of ṢANF, *AL-LĀRWĪ, HARKAND and ʿUMĀN, the ebb and flow of water takes place. People have related about the Sea of ʿUMĀN and the Sea of FĀRS that in them, the ebb and flow of water takes place twice during the day and night. The captains [lit.: masters] of the Sea of India and the Sea of China relate that the ebb and flow of water occurs twice during the year: so that during the summer months, the flow of water takes place eastwards, and as against this, there is an ebb in the western part of the sea; and for the following six months, the flow takes place westwards[4] . . .

§ 3. . . . All travelling boats of the Sea of India and China, whether big or small, are constructed out of well-hewn wood. These [planks] are put edge to edge and trimmed, and then sewn with fibre. Then they are caulked with the small intestines and the oil of *al-bāba*.[5]

§ 4. *Al-bāba* is a huge animal found in the Sea of India and China. Some of them are as long as 100 cubits and 20 cubits wide.[6] It grows stones of oyster-shell on the hump of its back. Many a

---

[1] Jaubert, I, p. 85: 'Lorsque ce fruit est noué, il est tendre.' The text reads: في أوله (variant MS. Poc.: اعقد) عقد إذا.

[2] Cf. Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 24; *Marvazi*, Tr. pp. 25 6.

[3] Cf. Sulaymān, *Akhbār al Ṣīn*, pp. 19-20. § 44.

[4] The source of Idrīsī's information on the tides is not certain, but probably I. Khur., p. 70, is the origin. Identical information is given by Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, I, pp. 251-2; cf. *H.ʿA.*, p. 53; I. Ḥauqal, pp. 48-9; Iṣṭ., p. 32; *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, pp. 9-10, *ibid.*, p 40, § 17 (1) and (2).

[5] See Commentary: al-Bâba, under *Flora, fauna, etc.*

[6] Jaubert, I, p. 96, gives the breadth as 24 cubits, a figure not found in any of the MSS. consulted by me.

time it encounters boats and breaks them into pieces.[1] The captains have also mentioned that they shoot them with arrows, and they [*al-bāba*] turn away from their [the captains'] course. They also mention that they hunt the small-sized ones and then boil them in cooking-pots, so that all the flesh melts and turns into liquid oil.[2]

§ 5. This oil is well known in Aden and other coastal towns of Yemen, and in Fārs and the coast of Oman, and in the Sea of India and China. They depend upon it for stopping up the seams of boats after they are sewn together...

§ 6. ... The kings of India and China take an interest in elephants with high backs, and spend large amounts of gold on their prices. The tallest elephant is nine cubits in height, except the elephants of AL-AKHWĀR, which reach [a height] of ten to eleven cubits.[3]

§ 7. The greatest king of India is *Ballahrā*. This title means 'the king of kings'. He is followed by **al-Kumkam*,[4] whose land is the land of teak-wood. Next to him comes the king of *al-Ṭāfin*,[5] then the king of *Jāba*; next to him is the king of *al-Jurz*, then *'Āba* (**Jāba*?), then *D.hmy*.[6] It is said that he possesses fifty thousand elephants and has velvet clothes, and that the Indian aloes-wood comes from his country. Next to him there is the king called *Qāmarūn*. His kingdom adjoins China.[7]

§ 8. The people of India are divided into seven castes (*'ajnās*).[8] One of these is *al-Sākhariya* (?). They are the most noble of them

---

[1] Cf. Jaubert, I, p. 96.

[2] §§ 4 and 5 are identical with the passages in *Abrégé*, pp. 60-1, and *Akhbār al-Zamān*, pp. 38-9.

[3] § 6 is copied from I. Khur., p. 67, almost word for word; cf. *Marvazī*, Ar.T., p. 34. § 45; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, p. 230. On al-Akhwār, see Commentary, under *Seas, etc.*

[4] See Commentary: al-Kumkam under *Towns and regions*. Idrīsī evidently understood *al-Kumkam* as the name of some ruler, instead of the region. See also Commentary: Ballahrā, under *Kings*.

[5] See Commentary: al-Ṭāfin, under *Towns and regions*.

[6] Elliot does not mention either *'Āba* or *D.hmy*, vol. I, p. 76; similarly, Jaubert, I, p. 98, omits them.

[7] § 7, like the previous one, is also reproduced from I. Khur., p. 67; cf. *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, pp. 12-3; *Marvazī*, Ar.T., pp. 34-6; I. Rust., pp. 134-5; *Murūj*, I, pp. 162, 177-8, 382-8.

[8] See Commentary: Castes, under *Religion*.

all.[1] The king belongs to them, and not to any other [caste]. All other castes bow to them whenever they meet them, whereas they do not bow to anyone.[2]

§ 9. Then come *al-Barāhima*. They are the devotees of India. They dress in leopard-skins or skins of other [animals].[3] Sometimes it so happens that one of them stands up with a staff in his hand and people gather round him; thus he keeps standing for a whole day until evening, giving a sermon to the people, reminding them of Almighty God and describing to them the affairs of all the peoples that have perished in the past.[4] These *al-Barāhima* do not drink any wine or any of the fermented liquors. They worship idols, believing in them as mediators between themselves and Almighty God.[5]

§ 10. After them comes the third caste, and they are *al-K.satriya*. They drink up to three bowls[6] of wine only, and do not drink immoderately, fearing that they might not remain in their senses. This class marries into the Brahmans, while the Brahmans do not marry into them.

§ 11. After these there are *al-Shūdiya* (**Shūdriya*). They are peasants[7] and agriculturalists.

---

[1] شريف literally means the high or exalted in respect of religion or worldly things. Here the word seems to be used in the sense of worldly things, i.e. kingship, etc., for as far as nobility in religion is concerned, the Brahmans were considered to be superior. See Lane.

[2] The source of Idrīsī's information in §§ 8-14 seems to be I. Khur., p. 71, as the two texts resemble each other very closely, except that some additional information is given by Idrīsī. Again, there is a close resemblance between Idrīsī's text in these paragraphs and that of Marvazī (Ar.T., pp. 26-7). Cf. *Gardīzī*, pp. 627-8. According to Minorsky, Marvazī seems to have had at his disposal a more complete version of the original text of I. Khur. drawn up before A.D. 850; but more probably he obtained these additional details through the medium of Jayhānī (see *Marvazī*, pp. 123-4). Idrīsī had also consulted Jayhānī, and it is probable that he drew his information from Jayhānī, which would explain the source of his additional information, e.g. the animal-skin dress of the Brahmans, etc. (see § 9).

[3] Elliot, I, p. 76: 'skins of tigers'; Jaubert, I, p. 98: 'de tigre'. نمور is pl. of نمر, a leopard.

[4] Jaubert, *l.c.* and Elliot, *l.c.*: 'and explaining to them the events which brought destruction upon the ancient people, that is, upon the Brahmans'.

[5] Cf. *Marvazī*, Ar.T., p. 28; *Gardīzī*, p. 630-1.

[6] Both Jaubert, I, p. 98, and Elliot, I, p. 76, prefer ارطال to اقداح.

[7] Jaubert, *l.c.*, and Elliot, *l.c.*: 'labourers'.

§ 12. Next to them are *al-Fasiya* (**al-Bayshiya*), and they are artisans and craftsmen.

§ 13. Then, among them [the castes] there are *al-Sandāliya*. They are musicians, and the beauty of their women is well known.

§ 14. Then, among them there are *al-R.k.ba* (**al-Dhunbiya*). They are dark-skinned, [1] and are people of amusement and games, and players of various [musical] instruments. [2]

§ 15. The religious denominations of the majority of the Indians comprise forty-two sects: [3] thus, there are among them those who believe in the Creator and the Prophets, while there are others who believe in God (*Allāh*) and deny the Prophets. Again, there are some who reject all. Among them there are those who believe in *carved stones* as their intermediaries, and others who worship *heaps of stones* [4] upon which oil and fat is poured, and people prostrate themselves before them. There are some of them who worship *fire* and burn themselves in it; some of them worship the *sun* and prostrate themselves before it, and believe that it is the Creator and the Ruler of the Universe. Again, there are some who worship *trees*, and others who worship *serpents*, which they keep in enclosures, [5] and which they feed with prescribed food, and through

---

[1] Nainar has translated I. Khur.'s سمر as 'pleasant companions for conversation'. He says that سمار is generally associated with colour, while سمر (pl. of سامر) are reciters of stories, and as the author is silent about the colour of other sects described by him earlier, he can hardly be expected to mention the colour of this particular community; and, moreover, the average Indian is of tawny colour (Nainar, pp. 132-3). Gardīzī describes the Dombas as 'black-skinned' people (*Gardīzī*, p. 627). According to Dozy, اسمر is 'noiraud'. I have read this word in Idrīsī as سمر (pl. of اسمر) meaning 'brown'. The main profession of the Dombas has been music and dancing, and not story-telling. They are usually a dark-coloured people as compared to the fair colour of many Brahmans.

[2] Jaubert, I, p. 99, and Elliot, I, p. 76: 'who are jugglers, tumblers, and players of various instruments'.

[3] Cf. I. Khur., p. 71; *Marvazī*, Ar.T., p. 28; Muṭahhar p. 9; *Gardīzī*, p. 629. See Commentary: Forty-two sects, under *Religion*.

[4] Jaubert, I, p. 99: 'pierres augurales'; Elliot, I, p. 76: 'holy stones'; Nainar, p. 122: 'heaps of stones'.

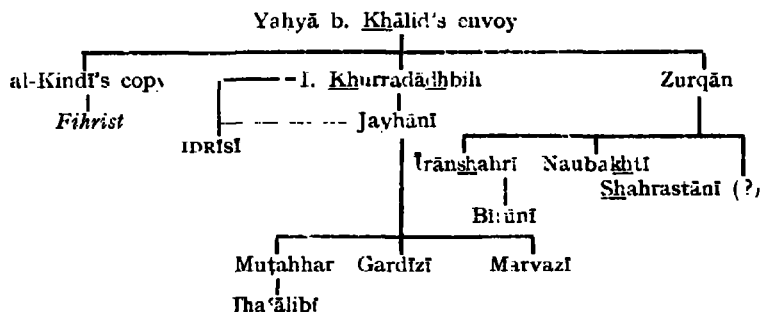
[5] Jaubert, I, p. 99, translates حظائر as 'étables', and Elliot, I, p. 76, following him, 'stable'. The other reading: حفائر would give the meaning:

which they make entreaties [to God]. There are some of them who do not weary themselves with the worship of one object or another, and deny all. We shall shortly mention various affairs relating to India one by one after this, with the blessing and strength of God[1]...

§ 16. ... None of the people of India and China deny the Creator. They believe in him because [they recognize] His wisdom and eternal craftsmanship. They do not believe in the Prophets or the Books.[2] Nevertheless, they do not in any circumstances depart from justice and equity.

§ 17. All inhabitants of the First Clime are either brown or

'they surround them in groups of men and feed them', etc., which does not seem to be appropriate here.

[1] It seems that Idrīsī's information in this paragraph is based on the same primary report which, according to Minorsky, was compiled c. A.D. 800 at the request of the Barmakid Yaḥyā b. Khālid, and which has been extensively used by "most of the earlier authors on Indian religions". (For further details on this report, see Minorsky, *Marvazī*, p. 125; *Gardīzī*, p. 626). Most probably, however, Idrīsī's immediate source was I. Khur., p. 71. From a study of § 15 of Idrīsī, it seems that this paragraph is a synopsis of the information utilized by him. The passage on the broad divisions according to belief and unbelief in God and the Prophets corresponds almost word for word to I. Khur., p. 71; the remaining portion of the paragraph seems to be an incomplete enumeration of the different forms of worship, the details of some of which are found in *Marvazī*, Ar.T., pp. 28-33; cf. Muṭahhar, pp. 9-19; cf. *Gardīzī*, pp. 629 sqq. The class of 'water-worshippers' is mentioned separately by Idrīsī (see Tr. p. 73 §§ 29, 30). Thus, Idrīsī may also be added to the following diagram of Minorsky's (*Marvazī*, p. 125), showing the inter-relationship of the different writers who utilized the primary source:

[2] By the 'Books' are meant the Holy Books of the Muslims, Jews and Christians. The source of the information in this paragraph is not known.

black. As for the people of India, Sind, China and of all those [regions] embraced by the sea, their colour is either brown or black[1] . . .

§ 18. . . . The ruby[2] of different varieties is found nowhere except in the island of Sarandīb. Similarly, the animal called *al-bāba*, which is found in the Sea of Yemen and that of Harkand, is found exclusively in this sea only . . .

§ 19. . . . Then the nights and days are sufficiently moderate [in temperature] and have an equal number of hours, although towards the furthermost latitude, there does exist a little diminution, but it is not observable except by painstaking investigation. All these [factors] are determined by the Judicious and arranged by the All-knowing Great Creator . . .

[SEVENTH SECTION OF THE SECOND CLIME]

§ 1. The towns belonging to this Seventh Section of the Second Clime are: KĒH, KĪZ, ARMĀBĪL, BIND, *QAṢR QAND, FĪRBŪZ, AL-ḤAUR, QANBALĪ, MANJĀBRĪ, DAYBUL, NĪRŪN, MANṢŪRIYYA, W.NDĀN, UṢQUFA, DIZAK, MĀSŪRJĀN, *QUZDĀR, KĪZKĀNĀN, QADĪRĀ, B.SM.D, ṬUĒRĀN, MULTĀN, JUNDŪR, SINDŪR, RŌR, ATRĪ, QĀLLARĪ, B.THRĪ (*BULRĪ), MASWĀM (*MASWĀHĪ ?),[3] SADŪSĀN,[4] BĀNIYA, MĀMUHUL, KANBĀYA, SŪBĀRA, SINDĀN, SAYMŪR, ASĀWAL, FULFAHRA, RĀSK, SHARŪSĀN, KŪSHA, KASHAD, SŪRA, MUNHA, M.ḤYĀK, MĀLŪN, QĀLĪRŪN, BALĪN (*QANBALĪ ?).[5]

§ 2. In the sea of this Section, there are the island of THĀRA,

[1] Jaubert, I, p. 101: 'sont les uns basanés, les autres noirs'; cf. *Marvazī*, Tr., p. 54, according to whom the complexions of the Indians 'vary between black, brown and white'.

[2] Cf. I. Khur., p. 64; almost all geographers mention the rubies of Ceylon, but Idrisī mentions them with greater emphasis. Jaubert, I, p. 102, translates: 'hyacinthes', which according to Dozy is the French translation of ياقوت خاقا. According to him, ياقوت سيلاني is a 'pierre précieuse rouge', II, p. 347. See Commentary: Rubies of Ceylon, under *Flora, fauna, etc.*

[3] Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 319: مسواهی.

[4] See Commentary: Sharūsān, under *Towns and regions*.

[5] Most of the towns of this paragraph belong to Sind, and can be identified with those shown on I. Ḥauqal's map of Sind (ed. Kramers, p. 316); cf. *Map. Arab.* 1. Band, 2. Heft, Plate no. II. Idrīsī probably drew up his list from his own map as well as from that of I. Ḥauqal. Cf. I. Ḥauqal, ed. Kramers, list, p. 319.

the two mountains of KUSAYR and 'UWAYR, AL-DURDŪR, [1] and the island of DAYBUL, to which belongs the town of KSK.HĀR, the island of OYKMAN (?), the island of *AL-MAYD, the island [peninsula] of KŪLAM MALAY, and the island of SINDĀN.

§ 3. In each of these climes there are peoples and nations of diverse faiths, customs and habits. We will describe all that and will report what has been ascertained as true about it. And to God we look for assistance.

§ 4. Thus we say that the first [part] of this Section lies to the east of the Sea of Fārs. [2]

§ 5. As for the south of it [the section], there is in it the town of DAYBUL. This town has a large population. [3] Its land is barren and of little fertility. It has no trees or date-palms. Its mountains are arid and its plains sterile, without vegetation. Most of their houses are built of clay and wood. It has become inhabited by people [4] because it is a port of Sind and of other countries. The commercial activities of its people are of a varied nature and they deal in divers commodities.

§ 6. This is also because the ships of the 'Umānī sailors arrive here with their goods and merchandise, and so do the boats of China and India [laden] with Chinese cloth and other goods and Indian aromatics and perfumes. These people, therefore, buy these goods wholesale, as they are well-to-do people and have abundant wealth. Then they store [the goods], and when the boats have sailed away from them and left the articles of merchandise behind, they bring out their stocks and sell them. They travel to different countries and advance their goods [to merchants for a share in the profits], and employ them as they please.

§ 7. Between DAYBUL and the great mouth of the River MIHRĀN, on the western side, there is a distance of six miles.

§ 8. From DAYBUL to NĪRŪN on the western side of the MIHRĀN, it is three *marḥalas*. It is situated halfway along the road to MAN-

---

[1] See Commentary: al-Durdūr, under *Seas*, *etc*.

[2] Jaubert, I, pp. 160-1, and Elliot, I, p. 77, translate. 'The beginning of this section comprises, starting from the east, the shores of the Persian Gulf, and towards the south the town of Debal'.

[3] Cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 322-3.

[4] Cf. text: سكنوها أهلها - سكنها أهلوها.

ṢŪRA, and anyone going from DAYBUL to MANṢŪRA crosses the River MIHRĀN there.[1]

§ 9. NĪRŪN is not a big town, nor has it a large population. It has a strong fortress and its people are rich. They have few trees. From this town to MANṢŪRA, it is just over three *marḥalas*.

§ 10. MANṢŪRA is a town encircled by a tributary of the River MIHRĀN, a little way away from [the town]. It is situated on the western side of the main bed of the River MIHRĀN.[2]

§ 11. The MIHRĀN flowing down from its source reaches the city of QĀLLARĪ, situated on the western side of the river, and there is a *marḥala* between it [Qāllarī] and MANṢŪRA. Here it divides into two branches. The main one flows towards MANṢŪRA; while the other arm flows in a northerly direction towards SHARŪSĀN. Then it changes its course westwards, until it reunites with its companion, namely, the second [main] branch of the river. This [reunion] takes place about twelve miles below [south of] MANṢŪRA, where they become one. From there it flows towards NĪRŪN and then towards the sea.

§ 12. MANṢŪRA is about a mile in length and the same in breadth. It has a hot climate and grows date-palms in abundance, and has sugar-cane.[3] As for fruits, they have none except a kind of fruit about the size of an apple which they call *al-yamūna*. It has an extremely sour taste. They have another fruit which resembles the peach and is similar to it in taste.

§ 13. MANṢŪRA is a new town. It was built by al-Manṣūr, belonging to the 'Abbāsid dynasty, in the early period of his reign. It was therefore named after him. This king, who bore the title of al-Manṣūr, built four towns in accordance with four auspicious stars, having observed by his knowledge of this science [astrology] that they would never be ruined.[4] One of these four towns is BAGHDĀD in 'Irāq; then this AL-MANṢŪRA in Sind; then AL-MAṢṢĪṢA on the

[1] Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 323; Iṣṭ., p. 175.

[2] § 10; cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 320-1; Iṣṭ., p. 173; Muqaddasī, p. 479.

[3] Cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 320-1; Iṣṭ., p. 173; cf. Muqaddasī, p. 479, *Murūj*, I, p. 376 sqq.; Qalq., p. 21.

[4] Jaubert, I, p. 162, and Elliot, I, p. 78, translate: 'This prince gave his name ("the victorious") to four different cities, as a good augury that they might stand for ever'. See Commentary: Bāmīramān, under *Towns and regions*.

coast of the Syrian [Mediterranean] Sea, and AL-RĀFIQA in al-Jazīra.

§ 14. MANṢŪRA is a big town with a large population and wealthy merchants. It has goods that are always in demand, and has grains, gardens and orchards. Its houses are built of kneaded clay, baked bricks and plaster. It is a pleasant abode. There are recreation grounds and leisurely days for its inhabitants. It has a large number of merchants, and has flourishing markets, and [provides a] profitable livelihood. The common people wear the 'Irāqī costume, [1] while their kings resemble the kings of India in wearing tunics and in having long hair.[2]

§ 15. Their *dirhams* are made of silver and copper, and the weight of one of their *dirhams* is [equal to] five [ordinary] *dirhams*. [3] Sometimes the *Ṭāṭariyya dirhams* are brought in to them and they employ these in their business transactions. [4]

§ 16. In this town there is fish in abundance, meat is cheap and fruits are imported, while it has some fruits of its own, too.

§ 17. In the Sindhi [language], [5] MANṢŪRA is called BĀMĪRAMĀN. [6]

§ 18. This [town] and [the towns of] DAYBUL, NĪRŪN, BĀNIYA, QĀLLARĪ, ATRĪ, SADŪSĀN, [7] JUNDŪR, SINDŪR, MANJĀBRĪ, B.SM.D, and MULTĀN—all these towns belong to Sind, and are reckoned to be within it. [8]

§ 19. As for BĀNIYA, it is a small town, is prosperous, and has cheap prices. Its population is mixed. They live luxuriously, and have prosperous conditions of life. The majority of them are rich.

§ 20. From this town to MANṢŪRA, it is three *marḥalas*, and from here to MĀMUHUL, six *marḥalas*. From DAYBUL to this town, it is two *marḥalas*.

§ 21. Again, between there and MĀMJHUL, and up to KANBĀYA

---

[1] Jaubert, I, p. 162, and Elliot, I, p. 78: 'Persian'.

[2] § 14: cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 321, Iṣṭ., p. 173; Muqaddasī, p 479.

[3] Elliot, I, p. 78: 'The weight of the drachma (dínár) is five times that of the (ordinary) drachma'.

[4] § 15: cf. I. Ḥauqal, 321. See Appendix A.

[5] Variant in the text: *Hindiyya.* See text.

[6] Jaubert, I, p. 162, and Elliot, I, p. 78: 'Mírmán'.

[7] See Sharūsān, under *Towns and regions.*

[8] Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 319; also § 76 below.

on the sea coast, is a continuous desert,[1] with no inhabitants or residents, and with little water. Nobody traverses it because of the desolation of its land and its great vastness.

§ 22. The town of MĀMUHUL is situated between India and Sind.

§ 23. On the outer regions of this desert, there is a tribe called **al-Mayd*.[2] The **Mayd* are a wandering people, who seek pastures in the outer regions of this desert. Their grazing grounds and wanderings extend up to MĀMUHUL. They are a numerous people and have large crowds among them. They have camels and goats,[3] and many a time in their [pursuit of] pastures they reach as far as RŌR on the banks of the River MIHRĀN. Sometimes they march further and reach the vicinity of the frontiers of MAKRĀN.[4]

§ 24. AL-RŌR is a beautiful town. It has a large population and multitude of people. It has busy markets and a profitable trade, and is well fortified, having two city walls round it. The river [MIHRĀN] flows by on its western side. Its inhabitants have a luxurious and prosperous livelihood. In size it compares with MULTĀN.[5]

§ 25. From RŌR to B.SM.D, it is three *marḥalas*; and again, from RŌR to ATRĪ, it is four *marḥalas*.[6]

§ 26. From the town of ATRĪ, one reaches QĀLIARĪ, and between the two, it is two *marḥalas*.[7]

§ 27. The town of QĀLLARĪ is situated on the western bank of the River MIHRĀN of Sind. It is a beautiful and well-fortified town. Its attractions are obvious and its bounties plentiful, and it has a profitable trade.[8]

§ 28. The River MIHRĀN divides into two branches near it, on the western side. The main branch flows towards the west until

---

[1] Elliot, I. p. 79: 'Marire strand'. Cf. Iṣṭ., p. 177. See Commentary, under *Deserts*.

[2] § 23: cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 323-4; Iṣṭ., p. 176. See Commentary: al-Mayd, under *Peoples and tribes*.

[3] Elliot, I. p. 79: 'horses and camels'.

[4] Minorsky (*E. I.*, article *Mand*) considers the reading Makrān doubtful and wonders whether it should perhaps be Multān. All MSS. of Idrīsī have Makrān.

[5] § 24: cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 322.

[6] The same distances are given by I. Ḥauqal, see p. 327.

[7] Cf. I. Ḥauqal, *l.c.*

[8] §§ 27-29: cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 323.

it reaches the outskirts (*ẓahr*) of the town called MANṢŪRA situated to the west of it; while the second branch flows in a northerly direction, but mostly towards the west. Then it turns to the north, then to the west, until it unites with its companion about twelve miles below [south of] MANṢŪRA.[1]

§ 29. The town of QĀLLARĪ is situated away from the main route; yet it is much frequented by people because of the pleasant dealings of its inhabitants. From here to MANṢŪRA, it is a long *marḥala*, covering [a distance of] forty miles.[2] From QĀLLARĪ to the town of SHARŪSĀN, it is three *marḥalas*.

§ 30. SHARŪSĀN is a very large town with numerous springs and rivers. Here prices are cheap and comforts easily available. Its inhabitants are moderately well-off. They enjoy good trade and are much frequented by visitors. Their merchandise is in steady demand.[3]

§ 31. From here to the town of MANJĀBRĪ, it is three *marḥalas* westward. The town of MANJĀBRĪ is situated in a lowland. It is beautifully built and has cheerful surroundings. It has agricultural farms and gardens. The drinking[-water] of the people is acquired from springs and rivers. From this town to the town of FĪRBŪZ, it is six *marḥalas*, and similarly from MANJĀBRĪ to DAYBUL it is two *marḥalas*. The road going from DAYBUL to FĪRBŪZ passes through MANJĀBRĪ.

§ 32. Between FĪRBŪZ and MANJĀBRĪ, there is a town called AL-ḤAUR. It is a small but populated town.

§ 33. As for FĪRBŪZ, it is a town with a considerable population and many merchants. Its inhabitants are wealthy, and have pleasant dealings and security, and avoid evil [actions]. They are easy-going and generous by nature. The town of FĪRBŪZ belongs to MAKRĀN.

§ 34. Among its towns are also KĪZ, DIZAK and RĀSK, which is the town of AL-KHARŪJ; then the towns of BIH, BIND, *QAṢR QAND, UṢQUFA, FULFAHRA, *MASHKAY, TĪZ, and BALĪN (*QANBALĪ?).[4] All these are the towns of MAKRĀN. It is a continuous country of

[1] Cf. § 11 above.
[2] Elliot, I, p. 79: 'a hard day's journey of forty miles'.
[3] § 30: cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 319, 323; Iṣṭ., p. 175.
[4] Jaubert, I, p. 164, note (4): 'ou Belin'; Elliot, I, p. 80: 'Balbak'.

broad and wide regions, but is dominated by desert, drought and poverty.[1]

§ 35. The biggest of its towns is KĪZ.[2] It is as large as MULTĀN in size. It abounds in palm-trees, its fields are continuous and it has reasonable prices and a flourishing trade.

§ 36. Close to it towards the west lies the town of TĪZ, situated on the sea-coast. It is a small, but well-known and populated town, visited by the boats from FĀRS, and also approached from the town of 'UMĀN. From the island of KĪSH,[3] situated in the middle of the Sea of FĀRS, up to this town, there is a distance of about one full (*wāfir*) *majrā*. From TĪZ to KĪZ, it is about five *marḥalas*, and from KĪZ to FĪRBŪZ, it is two long *marḥalas*.[4]

§ 37. Between the towns of KĪZ and ARMĀBĪL, there are two districts bordering on each other; one of them is called AL-RĀHŪN, and the other KULWĀN. As for KULWĀN, it belongs to MAKRĀN, and is included among its dependencies. The second district, which is called AL-RĀHŪN, is included within the bounds of MANṢŪRA. These two districts have much grain and large profits. They have few fruit-trees.[5] In fact their inhabitants are mainly dependent upon cattle and goats.[6]

§ 38. If anyone desires to undertake a journey from FĪRBŪZ to the land[7] of MAKRĀN, his route will pass through KĪZ. From KĪZ to ARMĀBĪL in MAKRĀN, it is two *marḥalas*.[8]

§ 39. It [ARMĀBĪL] is a town equal to FĪRBŪZ in size, or about the same. It has cultivated lands, fruit-gardens and recreation grounds, and its inhabitants are rich.

§ 40. From the town of ARMĀBĪL to QANBALĪ, it is two *marḥalas*. The town of QANBALĪ compares with ARMĀBĪL in size, beauty of

---

[1] § 34: cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 319, 325.

[2] Jaubert, I, p. 164, and Elliot, I, p. 80, read it as 'Kírúsí', which in fact is a misreading of كيروى (for كيز وهى) in the MSS.

[3] Jaubert, I, p. 165, and Elliot, I, p. 80: "Tíz, a small seaport much frequented by the vessels of Fárs, as well as by those which come from the country of 'Umán and the isle of Kísh', etc.

[4] § 36: cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 325, 326.

[5] Elliot, I, p. 80: 'few dates'.

[6] § 37: cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 324.

[7] 'Tīz of Makrān', I. Ḥauqal, p. 326, and Iṣṭ., p. 178.

[8] Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 326: six *marḥalas*.

buildings, abundance of cultivated lands, ease of conditions and wealth. Between QANBALĪ and the sea, there is a distance of about a mile and a half. ARMÂBĪL and QANBALĪ are both situated between DAYBUL and MAKRĀN.

§ 41. From the town of FĪRBŪZ to DIZAK, it is three *marḥalas*. DIZAK is a magnificent, large and populated town. It abounds in trade and profitable merchandise, and has a number of contiguous [dependent] districts. The inhabitants acquire their drinking-water from springs and wells. On the western side [of this town], somewhat to the south, there is a big and lofty mountain. It is called the SALT MOUNTAIN. It has been given this name because most of its waters are saline. It has cultivated lands and villages. [1]

§ 42. From DIZAK to RĀSK, it is three *marḥalas*. [2] The inhabitants of RĀSK are Khārijites. It has two districts, one of which is called AL-KHARŪJ, and the other KĪRKĀYĀN (*QUZDĀR). In this town and in its districts there is an abundance of sugar-cane. *Fānīdh* [3] is prepared here in large quantities, and is exported from here to all regions. [4]

§ 43. Sugar and *fānīdh* are also prepared in large quantities in the region of MĀSAKĀN. Similarly, in the district of QAṢRĀN (*QUZDĀR), sugar-cane is cultivated in abundance, and therefore, sugar and *fānīdh* are exported from here in large quantities to the east and west. QAṢRĀN (*QUZDĀR) and MĀSAKĀN are in the neighbourhood [5] of ṬURĀN, and the majority of their population are mostly [Khārijite] extremists. [6]

§ 44. The town of *MASHKAY adjoins the regions of KIRMĀN. [7] It is a populated town. Its inhabitants are marked by their strength and extreme boldness. It has date-palms, grains and camels, and quantities of fruit peculiar to cold regions.

§ 45. The language of the people of MAKRĀN is Persian and

---

[1] §§ 40-41: cf. I. Hauqal, pp. 319, 325, 326. The description of Dizak and the Salt Mountain as given by Idrīsī is not found in I. Ḥauqal. Cf. Iṣṭ., p. 178.

[2] Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 326.

[3] See Commentary: al-Fānīdh, under *Flora, fauna, etc.*

[4] § 42. cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 325; Iṣṭ., p. 177.

[5] Jaubert, I. p. 166, and Elliot, I, p. 81, misread بجاوران as the name of a place: جاوران (Jaurān), thus giving an incorrect meaning to the text.

[6] §§ 43-44: cf. I. Hauqal, pp. 325-6; Iṣṭ., pp. 177-8.

[7] Elliot, I, p. 81: 'The territory of Máskán joins that of Kirmán.'

Makrānī, [1] and they use both for purposes of conversation. The dress of the common people consists of tunics, while the merchants and people of eminence wear shirts with long sleeves, and cloaks, and use long pieces of cloth and kerchiefs of gold lamé as their turbans, in the style of the merchants of ʿIrāq and Fārs.

§ 46. Among the towns of MAKRĀN are FULFAHRA, UṢQUFA, BIND and *QAṢR QAND. All these towns are nearly the same in size, and the conditions of their inhabitants are similar to one another. They have commerce, cultivated lands and profitable pursuits. [2]

§ 47. From FULFAHRA to RĀSK, it is two *marḥalas*, and from FULFAHRA to UṢQUFA two *marḥalas*, and from UṢQUFA to BIND, it is one *marḥala* towards the west, and from UṢQUFA to DIZAK, it is three *marḥalas*. From BIND to *QAṢR QAND, it is one *marḥala*, and from *QAṢR QAND to KĒH, four *marḥalas*.

§ 48. From MANṢŪRA to ṬUĒRĀN, it is about fifteen *marḥalas*. The town of ṬUĒRAN is in the neighbourhood of FAHRAJ belonging to KIRMĀN. [3]

§ 49. ṬUĒRĀN is a valley containing fields and cultivated lands. Its chief town is called ṬUĒRĀN, after the valley. It is a well-fortified town with open spaces, recreation grounds and continuous farmlands.

§ 50. From here to QUZDĀR, it is four *marḥalas*. It is a large and populated town of good size. It has markets, trade, and good conditions of life. It has several populated districts and villages belonging to it. [4]

§ 51. To the west of it lies the town of KĪZKĀNĀN, [5] which is the residence of the ruler of ṬUĒRĀN. [6] The town of KĪZKĀNĀN is an inhabited town with a large population, and has cheap prices. It has fruit-gardens and orchards, and grows grapes and other fruits, but has no date-palms.

§ 52. From the town of ṬUĒRĀN to *MASTANJ, situated in the middle of the desert, it is three *marḥalas*. It is a small town with

[1] Elliot, *l.c.*: 'Persian and a dialect peculiar to the province'.
[2] § 46: cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 325.
[3] § 48: cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 326. § 49: cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 324.
[4] Cf.. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 324, 326; Iṣṭ., p. 176; Muqaddasī, p. 478.
[5] Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 324; Iṣṭ., p. 177.
[6] Elliot, I, p. 81, and Jaubert, I, p. 166: 'Kírkáyán lies to the west of Fardán, on the road to Túbarán.'

Seventh section of the second clime (Bodleian Library, MS. Greaves 42 ff. 94v–95r)

little fruit, but is a great breeding ground of camels and goats.

§ 53. From here to MULTĀN, on the extreme limit of Sind, it is ten *marḥalas*. The town of MULTĀN is in the neighbourhood of India. It is about as large as MANṢŪRA.[1] Some people count it as one of the towns of India; it is called *Frontier-place of the House of Gold.*[2]

§ 54. It has an idol highly venerated by the people of India. They travel from the remotest parts of their country to perform a pilgrimage to it. They offer abundant riches to it, and large quantities of ornaments, perfumes, and other things beyond description, in order to exalt and glorify it. It has its attendants and devotees, who dwell there. They are fed and clothed with the wealth offered to it as alms.[3]

§ 55. MULTĀN is named after this idol.

§ 56. The idol[4] has the shape of a human being, sitting cross-legged[5] on a dais made of plaster and baked bricks. The whole of its body is dressed in a skin resembling red Morocco leather. Nothing is visible of its body except its two eyes. Hence, there are some people who assert that its body is made of wood; and there are others who reject this statement of theirs and deny it. However, its body is never left uncovered. It has two precious stones for its two eyes, and its head is covered with a crown of gold inlaid with gems. The idol is sitting cross-legged, stretching its forearms over its two knees [in such a pose] as if it were figuring [the number] four.[6] It is highly respected by them.

§ 57. The temple [lit.: house] of this idol is situated in the centre of MULTĀN in its most crowded market-place. It is a huge vaulted building [richly] embellished and decorated. It has a perfect

---

[1] Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 321.

[2] فرج بيت الذهب; cf. § 62, below.

[3] Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 321.

[4] This passage has been copied from I. Ḥauqal almost word for word, see p. 321; cf. Iṣt., p. 174.

[5] Jaubert, I p. [illegible], and Elliot, I, p. 82: 'It is in the human form with four sides'.

[6] Jaubert, *l.c.*, and Elliot, *l.c.*, 'It is, as we have said, square, and its arms below the elbows, seem to be four in number'

structure, plastered columns, coloured ornamentation [1] and firmly-built doors. Inside it rests the idol.

§ 58. Around the vaulted building, rooms are constructed wherein the attendants of this idol and those who keep their retreat there reside.

§ 59. In MULTĀN, there are no Indians or Sindis that worship idols, except those who live in this temple [lit.: palace] with this idol.[2] Other Indians and Sindis perform pilgrimage to it out of veneration and because of its power which they have witnessed, namely, that whenever the kings of India [whose territory is] adjacent to MULTĀN repair to it with the intention of destroying it and carrying [lit.: pulling] this idol off from there, its attendants hasten to conceal the idol and threaten [lit.: declare] to demolish and burn it: [3] hence the aggressors [lit.: visitors] desist from its [MULTĀN's] destruction. Had it not been so, MULTĀN would have been destroyed [long ago]. Hence the glorifiers (?) [4] of this idol believe its presence there to be a divine assistance to them. So they exalt it with great respect.

§ 60. It is not known who constructed this idol and [the time of] its construction is not determined either; and this is remarkable. [5]

§ 61. MULTĀN is a large and populated town. It has a strong fortress [6] and four gates, and on the outside, there is a moat dug out. Its comforts are abundant and its prices are cheap; [7] its inhabitants have considerable wealth.

§ 62. MULTĀN [8] was named *Frontier-place of the House of Gold* [9]

---

[1] Jaubert, *l.c.*, and Elliot, *l.c.*: 'The columns are very lofty and the walls coloured'; Dozy: صنعة pl. صُنَع, ornament, figure.

[2] Elliot, *l.c.*: 'There is no idol in India or in Sind which is more highly venerated'. My translation is based on the corrected text, see text.

[3] Cf. Elliot, *l.c.*,: 'the priests have only to meet, threaten the aggressors with its anger and predict their destruction'.

[4] The correct reading of the Arabic word (المفضلون / المصلون – *المجلون ?) is not certain (see text). Hence only the general sense is taken and rendered into English.

[5] Elliot, *l.c.*; 'Being ignorant of the name of the man who set it up, they content themselves with saying that it is a wonder'.

[6] Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 322; Iṣt., p. 175.

[7] Elliot, *l.c.*: 'taxes are light'

[8] This passage is copied from I. Khur., p. 56; cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 322; Iṣt., p. 175; Muqaddasī, p. 483.

[9] Jaubert, I, p. 168, and Elliot, I, p. 82: 'the house of gold Farkh'.

because Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf, the brother of al-Ḥajjāj, [1] obtained there forty *buhārs* of gold, one *buhār* being [equal to] 333 *manns*, all of it from one house. Hence, it has been named *Frontier-place of Gold*. *Al-farj* is the same as *al-thaghr* [frontier-place]. [2]

§ 63. MULTĀN has a small river with water-mills and fields [along its banks]. It flows into the River MIHRĀN of Sind.

§ 64. From here to JUNDŪR, a collection of palaces, it is one and a half miles. [3] These palaces are of solid structure and of lofty height. Abundant sweet waters flow through them. [4]

§ 65. The ruler arrives here during the spring season and during his recreation days. Al-Ḥauqalī [5] has related that the ruler of this town during his time rode on his elephant every Friday from these palaces to MULTĀN, a tradition he inherited from his ancestors.

§ 66. The inhabitants of MULTĀN are predominantly Muslims, and authority over it is vested in Islam. Their ruler is also a Muslim.

§ 67. From MULTĀN to the town of SINDŪR in the south, it is three days' journey. It is a populated town abounding in choice things, and well known for its blessings. It has merchants and elegant people. Their dress consists of well-made garments, and their apparel is beautiful. Their means of livelihood are plentiful. It is said that it is part of India. [6]

§ 68. It is situated on the bank of a sweet-water river, which

---

[1] The correct reading of this name is 'Muḥammad ibn Qāsim, the lieutenant (عامل) of al-Ḥajjāj'. This mistake, originally in Ibn Khurradādhbih, has already been corrected by de Goeje (see I. Khur., p. 56, note c; also translation, p. 38).

[2] The text in Idrīsī reads: والفرخ البهار which is obviously a mistake of the copyist. It has been changed to والفرج الثغر after I. Khur., p. 56; cf. Bīrūnī, ed. Tegar., p. 72: ولكنها (اى المولتان) اشتهرت بفرج الذهب اى ثغره On this paragraph and § 53 above, see Commentary: Multān, under *Towns and regions*. Cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 440.

[3] Jaubert, I, p. 168, and Elliot, I, p. 83: 'one mile'.

[4] § 64: cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 322; Iṣṭ., p. 175.

[5] Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 322, who mentions that the governor of Multān was a descendant of Sāma b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib, and read the *khuṭba* in the name of the 'Abbāsids.

[6] The information contained in §§ 67 and 68 seems to have been copied from I. Ḥauqal, p. 328, but there is a good deal of difference between the contents of Idrīsī's text and that of I. Ḥauqal's, which is difficult to explain.

flows into the River MIHRĀN and empties into it, before joining B.SM.D[1] and after [flowing through] MULTĀN[2].

§ 69. From MULTĀN, towards the north, there is a desert extending as far as the eastern side of ṬUĒRĀN.[3]

§ 70. Again, [the region extending] from it [MULTĀN] up to the boundary of MANṢŪRA is [inhabited by] a wandering people[4] called *al-Budha*. They are [many] tribes and a great number of people, scattered and wandering about[5] between the boundaries of ṬUĒRĀN, MAKRĀN, MULTĀN and the towns of MANṢŪRA. They resemble the Beduins of the Berber tribe. They have huts made of reeds, and thickets in which they take shelter, and swamps of water wherein they live. These are to the west of the River MIHRĀN.[6]

§ 71. They possess a fine and agile breed of camels, from which the two-humped camel[7] is reproduced. The people of Khurāsān and others belonging to Fārs and such-like are interested in these camels for cross-breeding with the Balkhī (Bactrian) camels and the she-camels of Samarqand, for these camels have a good temperament, and each one of them has two humps, unlike the camels that we have in our country.[8]

§ 72. From MANṢŪRA to the first limits of al-Budha, it is six *marḥalas*,[9] and from the last limits of al-Budha to the town of KĪZ, it is about ten *marḥalas*. Again, from the first limits of al-

---

[1] Jaubert, I, p. 169, and Elliot, I, p. 83: Samand.

[2] Omitted by Jaubert, *l.c.* and Elliot, *l.c.*

[3] See Commentary, under *Deserts*.

[4] Elliot, I, p. 83: 'warlike race'; cf. Raverty, *Mihran of Sind*, p. 224: 'warlike'.

[5] Read متقلبون instead of متقبلون in the printed text.

[6] Copied from I. Ḥauqal, pp. 323-4.

[7] The readings in Idrīsī's MSS., namely, الفارح and القارح, are replaced by الفالج, see text. According to Lane, الفالج (pl. فوالج) is a large, or bulky, camel with two humps, that is brought from Sind for the purpose of covering; or a camel with two humps, between the Bukhtiyya and the Arabian: so called because his hump is divided in halves, or because his two humps have different inclinations. Cf. Jaubert, I, p. 169: القرح; Elliot, I, p. 83: *Karah*.

[8] § 71: The first part of this paragraph is the same as in I. Ḥauqal, p. 323.

[9] § 72: cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 326-27: five days' journey (*marḥalas*).

Budha to TĪZ, situated at the end of MAKRĀN, it is sixteen *marḥalas.* [1]

§ 73. The town to which the people of al-Budha repair for their selling and purchasing transactions, and in the fulfilment of their needs, is the town of QANDĀBĪL. [2]

§ 74. Between KĪZKĀNĀN and QANDĀBĪL, there is a district known as 'ĪL, [3] which has a population of Muslims and others, like the al-Budha people mentioned above. They have crops, grains and vast resources, and have fruit-bearing vines and an abundance of camels, goats, cows and sheep. This district was named 'ĪL after a man called 'ĪL, who had conquered this region, and during the period of his reign, the inhabitants became prosperous. So they called this district 'ĪL after his name, and it is known so up to the present time. [4]

§ 75. From QANDĀBĪL to MANṢŪRA, it is about ten *marḥalas.* [5]

§ 76. The towns of KHŪ-KAKHLIYĀ, KŪSHA, and QADĪRĀ also belong to Sind. The [last] two are about the same in size, and have cultivated lands and market-places for the al-Budha.

§ 77. Among the towns of ṬUĒRĀN are M.ḤYĀK, KĪZKĀNĀN, SŪRA, QUZDĀR, KUSHDĀN (*QUZDĀR), and MĀSŪRJĀN. [6]

§ 78. Between the towns of ṬUĒRĀN and MANṢŪRA, there are contiguous deserts and wastes; again, from there [ṬUĒRĀN] towards the north up to the region of SIJISTĀN, there are continuous deserts and arid lands.

§ 79. The town of MĀSŪRJĀN is a large and populated town. It has market-places and profits, and cultivated lands and a number of villages. It is situated on the River of ṬUĒRĀN. [7]

§ 80. From there to the chief town of ṬUĒRĀN, it is forty-two miles. [8]

---

[1] Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 327: fifteen days' journey (*marḥalas*).

[2] § 73: cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 323.

[3] Idrīsī's text reading 'And KĪZKĀNĀN is a district', etc., has been changed to 'And between KĪZKĀNĀN and QANDĀBĪL' etc., after I. Ḥauqal p. 326; cf. I. Ḥauqal, ed. de Goeje, p. 233; see text.

[4] § 74: cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 326; Iṣṭ., p. 178; *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 123.

[5] I. Ḥauqal, p. 327, gives this distance as about 8 days' journey (*marḥalas*); a similar distance is given by Muqaddasī also, see p. 486.

[6] § 77: I. Ḥauqal, p. 319, mentions: محالك – كيزكانان – سيوى and قصدار only; cf. Iṣṭ., p. 171.

[7] §§ 79-84: I. Khur., pp. 55-6, seems to be the source of Idrīsī's information.

[8] Cf. I. Khur., p. 55: 14 *farsakhs*.

§ 81. From MĀSŪRJĀN to DIRAK-YĀMŪNA, it is 141 miles. [1]

§ 82. From DIRAK-YĀMŪNA to FĪRBŪZ, also called FĪRBŪS with an 's' (س) [at the end], it is 175 miles. [2]

§ 83. So, these are all the towns of MAKRĀN, SIND and ṬUĒRĀN. [3]

§ 84. Similarly, from ṬUĒRĀN to MANṢŪRA, it is 1070 miles. [4]

§ 85. As for the towns of India adjoining Sind, they are: MĀMUHUL, KANBĀYA, SŪBĀRA, KHĀBĪRŪN, SINDĀN, MĀS.W.YĀ, and ṢAYMŪR. [5]

§ 86. Among the islands in the sea, there are: OYKMAN, the island of *AL-MAYD, the island [peninsula] of KŪLAM MALAY, [6] and the island of SINDĀN.

§ 87. The towns of India are many in number; among them are: MĀMUHUL, KANBĀYA, SŪBĀRA, [7] ASĀWAL, JANĀWAL, SINDĀN, ṢAYMŪR, JUNDŪR, SINDŪR, and *ZAWĪLA [8] in the desert, and *LAMṬA, *AUDUGHUST, [9] NAHRWĀRA, LAHĀWAR and others which we shall mention in their proper places with the assistance of God, may He be exalted!

§ 88. As for the town of MĀMUHUL, there are some people who reckon it as belonging to India, while others make it a part of Sind. It is situated at the beginning [lit.: head] of the desert stretching between it and KANBĀYA, DAYBUL and BĀNIYA. [10]

§ 89. It is a large and populated town, and is situated on the route of those [travellers] who enter India from Sind. It has commerce, and has cultivated lands around it. It grows little fruit, but has abundant means of livelihood and has cattle. From here to MANṢŪRA, via BĀNIYA, it is nine *marḥalas*.

§ 90. And from MĀMUHUL to KANBĀYA, it is five *marḥalas*. KANBĀYA is situated at a distance of three miles from the sea.

---

[1] Cf. *ibid.*: 48 *farsakhs*.

[2] Cf. *ibid.*: 58 *farsakhs*.

[3] §§ 80-83: see Commentary: Māsūrjān and Dirak-Yāmūna, under *Towns and regions*.

[4] Cf. I. Khur., p. 56: MAKRĀN to MANṢŪRA is 358 farsakhs. See Commentary: Manṣūra, under *Towns and regions*.

[5] Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 319. He does not mention Khābīrūn and Mās.w.yā.

[6] See Commentary: Kūlam Malay, under *Towns and regions*.

[7] Jaubert, I, p. 170: Sonbara.

[8] See Commentary: *Lamṭa, etc., under *Towns and regions*.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] §§ 88-89: cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 323, 324, 325 & 327; cf. *Ḥ.'A*, p. 88.

It is a beautiful-looking town. Here boats set sail and unload. To it are brought all kinds of commodities and merchandise from everywhere, and from there they are exported in every direction.

§ 91. It is also situated on an estuary which boats enter and cast their anchors in. Water is in abundance in it.

§ 92. This town has a strong fortress, which the governors of India [1] had built during the period of its domination by the master of the island of KĪSH. [2]

§ 93. From the town of KANBĀYA by sea to the island of OYKMAN, it is one and a half *majrās*. [3]

§ 94. From OYKMAN Island to the island of DAYBUL, it is two *majrās*. It marks the first limits of Indian territory. [4] It grows grains and rice, [5] and its mountains grow the Indian bamboo plants; its inhabitants worship idols (*budūd*). [6]

§ 95. From here to the island of *AL-MAYD, it is six miles; its inhabitants are brigands.

§ 96. From here to KŪLĪ, it is six miles. [7]

§ 97. From KŪLĪ along the coast to the town of SŪBĀRA, it is about five *marḥalas*. It is at a distance of about one and a half miles from the sea-coast. [8] It is a civilized and populated town, and has a large number of residents. It has [all] kinds of commerce and ways of livelihood. It is one of the ports of the Indian Sea, and there are fishing grounds and diving beds for pearls.

§ 98. Near it is situated the island of THĀRA, [9] which is small in size and grows a little coconut and *costus*.

[1] الهند. Variant: الملد; cf. Commentary: al-Mayd, under *Islands*.

[2] Jaubert, I, p. 171, and Elliot, I, pp. 84-5: 'and there is a fine fortress erected by the government of India to prevent the inroads (Jaubert: les incursions) of the inhabitants of the island of Kīsh'.

[3] Elliot, I, p 85: 'two-and-a-half-days' sail'.

[4] This sentence is omitted by Jaubert, *l.c.*; cf. I. Khur., p. 62: وهي أول أرض الهند.

[5] Jaubert, *l.c.*: 'Kanbaya is fertile in wheat and rice'.

[6] Jaubert, *l.c.*, questions whether the word بدود could stand for the Buddhists; but بدود is pl. of بد, which generally means an idol. The text in I. Khur., p. 62, is different, namely, (عتاة مردة لصوص), which de Goeje translates, *ibid.*, p. 42, thus: 'les habitants sont méchants, rebelles, brigands'. §§ 93-94: cf. I. Khur., p. 62.

[7] §§ 95-96. information taken from I. Khur., p. 62.

[8] Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 327.

[9] Jaubert, I, p. 171: باره.

§ 99. From the town of SŪBĀRA to the town of SINDĀN, it is about five *marḥalas*. Between it and the sea, there is a distance of one and a half miles. It is a populated town, and its residents are people full of dexterity and nobility. They are wealthy merchants accustomed to travelling. [1] It is a big-sized town, and has a large traffic of travellers visiting it and leaving it. [2]

§ 100. To the east of it there is an island of the same name borrowed from this town. This island is very wide in area, and has abundant cultivated fields, palm-trees and coconuts. It grows bamboos and rattan and is counted as a part of India.

§ 101. From SINDĀN to ṢAYMŪR, it is five *marḥalas*. ṢAYMŪR is a spacious and beautiful town, with magnificent buildings and exquisite surroundings. It grows abundant coconuts and bamboos, [3] and in its mountains perfume-plants are found in abundance, which are exported to all parts of the world. [4]

§ 102. In the sea five miles [*days?] from it [5] [Sindān], there is an island called MALAY. It is a large island with beautiful uplands, but few mountains, and is full of vegetation. [6] The pepper plant [7] grows in the island of MALAY; it does not grow except here or in FANDARAYNA or in JIRBĀTTAN, and is not found anywhere except in these three places.

§ 103. It is a plant with a stem very closely resembling the stem of the vine, and its leaf [looks] like the leaf of the convolvulus plant. It is long, but with smooth edges. It has clusters like those of the oak-tree. [8] Each of these clusters is protected [lit.: concealed] from the rain by its leaf and is gathered when it is ripe. White

---

[1] Jaubert, I, p. 172, translates متجولون as 'd'humeur belliqueuse', which seems to be incorrect.

[2] §§ 99-100: cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 327; I. Khur., p. 62.

[3] Jaubert, I, p. 172: 'le henné'.

[4] § 101: cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 327.

[5] The reading منها has been preferred to من كولم مل, on the basis of I. Khur., p. 62, who seems to be the source of Idrīsī's information. I. Khur. has: 'And from SINDĀN to MULAY it is five days' journey'. Cf. *Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 88. Hence also أميال in Idrīsī should be read as أيام.

[6] Jaubert, I, p. 172, and Elliot, I, p. 85: 'It is an elevated plateau'.

[7] Cf. I. Khur., pp. 70-1; I. Faqīh, p. 16. See Commentary: Pepper under *Flora, fauna, etc.*

[8] The actual word in the text is الشبوقه.

pepper is gathered from it either before it is ripe or just when it starts to ripen.[1]

§ 104. Ibn Khurradādhbih relates that when it starts raining, the leaves of these clusters curl over them and conceal them from the rain, and when it stops raining, the leaf lifts away from the clusters; it does not cover them again except when it rains; thus, if the rains return, the leaves reoccupy [their positions] too, and this is remarkable.

§ 105. KANBĀYA, SŪBĀRA, SINDĀN, and ṢAYMŪR, all of them are towns of India.

§ 106. The town of ṢAYMŪR belongs to the kingdom of the king called *Ballahrā*.

§ 107. He has a large kingdom, and his country has vast stretches of cultivated lands, abundant commerce and plentiful resources. He receives large amounts of revenues and his wealth is enormous. In his country, various types and varieties of aromatics and perfumes are also found.

§ 108. *Ballahrā* means 'the king of kings'.[2] This title is hereditary, passing from one king to the other, being adopted from the kings of the past, and similarly with all the kings of India: whenever a king becomes the ruler of a kingdom, he is given the title of the previous monarch. Their titles are hereditary, and they do not depart from this tradition. This has become a custom among them which they practise . . .

§ 109. . . . Among the towns of India included in this section are KHĀBĪRŪN and ASĀWAL. These two are populated towns and have merchants and craftsmen. They have plenty of wealth, the articles they produce are beautiful, and their merchandise is in steady demand.

§ 110. At the present time the Muslims have reached most of these countries, and have subjugated the regions surrounding them.

§ 111. We shall shortly mention other parts adjoining these towns, with the assistance and strength of God. Here ends the Seventh Section of the Second Clime, and praise be to God! The Eighth Section will follow this, if God pleases.

---

[1] §§ 103 and 104: cf. I. Khur., pp. 62-3.
[2] Cf. I. Khur., pp. 16, 67.

(EIGHTH SECTION OF THE SECOND CLIME)

§ 1. This Eighth Section of the Second Clime includes in its part, from among the Indian towns, coastal towns along the Sea of India.

§ 2. Among these are: BARŪJ, SINDĀBŪR, TĀNA, FANDARAYNA, JIRBĀTTAN, KLK.YĀN, ṢINJĪ, KL.KSĀR, LŪLAWĀ, KANJA, and SAMUNDAR.

§ 3. Of the inland towns there are: DŌLQA, JANĀWAL, NAHRWĀRA, QANDAHĀR, (*ZAWĪLA, *LAMṬA, and *AUDUGHUST);[1] all these are situated at the head of the desert; then KĀBUL, *KHUWĀSH, ḤASAK, MAURYDAS, MĀDYĀR, TATA, DADA, MANĪBĀR, MĀLWA, N.YĀST, AṬRĀSĀ, N.JA, LOWER QASHMĪR, MYDRA, KĀRAMŪT, UPPER QASHMĪR, QINNAUJ, and RASTĀND (?).[2]

§ 4. As for the Indian islands in its portion of the sea, there are: the island of MALAY, the island of BALĪQ, also called BALĪKH,[3] the island of AL-M.SKHĀ, and the island of SAMUNDAR. We shall now mention their qualities and describe their wonderful features, *with the favour and strength of God.*

§ 5. As for BARŪJ, it is a very large, magnificent and beautiful town, with fine buildings constructed of bricks and plaster. Its inhabitants have high ambitions, copious resources, solid wealth, and recognized trades. They are wont to stay in foreign countries, wandering about and travelling a great deal. It is a port for those who arrive from China, as well as for those who come from SIND. From here to ṢAYMŪR, it is two days' journey.

§ 6. From BARŪJ to NAHRWĀRA, it is eight *marḥalas* across continuous plains without any mountains on them. The journey between these two places is made in carts.

§ 7. Neither in NAHRWĀRA nor in the countries bordering on it is there any means for travellers to perform journeys except by means of carts. They load their belongings on them, and the

[1] These towns belong to al-Maghrib, see Commentary: Lamṭa, etc., under *Towns and regions*.

[2] See Commentary: Asnān.d, under *Towns and regions*.

[3] Elliot, I, p. 87: 'Tarwákhj'. The word '*turwa*' and the name 'Balīkh' have been wrongly taken together as one word. See Commentary: *Ballīn, under *Islands*.

bullocks draw them and carry them wherever they wish to go. Every bullock cart has a driver and a guide.

§ 8. Between BARŪJ and NAHRWĀRA, there are two towns. One of these is called JANĀWAL and the other DŌLQA. They are about the same in size, and between one and the other, there is hardly a *marḥala*.

§ 9. DŌLQA is situated on a river flowing into the sea and widening out into an estuary. To the west [south?] of it is situated BARŪJ, also pronounced BARŪṢ.

§ 10. JANĀWAL and DŌLQA are situated at the foot of a mountain lying across their northern side. It is called ŪNDIRAN Mountain. Its earth is of a yellowish-white colour and bamboos and a few coconut-trees grow on it.

§ 11. Near JANĀWAL is situated the town of ASĀWAL.[1]

§ 12. All these three towns resemble one another in their qualities, size, the conditions of their inhabitants, and the similarity of their dresses. Each one of these has trades and profitable and ready pursuits.

§ 13. As for the town of NAHRWĀRA, it is ruled by a great king called *Ballahrā*. He possesses armies and elephants. He worships the idol of *al-bud*.[2] He wears a crown of gold on his head, and dresses in robes woven in gold and always rides on horseback.

§ 14. He rides once every Friday accompanied by about a hundred women riding around him, and no-one accompanies him except these, dressed up in *qarāṭiq*[3] embellished with gold, and adorned with the most beautiful ornaments, wearing bracelets of gold and silver around their hands and feet, and with their hair hanging down over their backs.[4] They go along sporting with one

---

[1] Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 310; I. Ḥauqal, ed. de Goeje, p. 227

[2] صنم البد. Elliot, I, p. 87: 'the idol Buddha'. Nainar, p. 162: 'he worships idols'; See Commentary. Idols, under *Religion*. Idrīsī is perhaps using the generic word for idol, *bud* (Persian *but*), as if it were the name of a particular idol.

[3] I have usually translated this word as 'tunic'. Here it may be taken to mean 'long blouse'.

[4] أرداف, the posterior or the buttock, peculiarly, according to some, of a woman. See Lane.

another and dancing, while the king rides ahead of them. [1] As for his group of ministers and important personalities, [2] they do not ride with him except when he is out warring against rebels or against the usurpers of any part of his dependencies, [3] or against any of the neighbouring kings having designs on his kingdom. He has a large number of elephants, which form the mainstay of his wars.

§ 15. This king has a hereditary substantive noun and title, which he does not change. *Ballahrā* means 'the king of kings', as we have mentioned before.

§ 16. The town of NAHRWĀRA is frequented by a large number of Muslim merchants; this is the place to which they travel. The king heartily welcomes travellers and protects their property. [4]

§ 17. Administration of justice (*'adl*) among the people of India is in the very nature of the people. They do not rely on anything except it. They are noteworthy for the excellence of their justice, for keeping their contracts, and for the beauty of their character. Indeed, they and all the inhabitants of that land are on a virtuous path. They are visited by large numbers of travellers. Their country is populated, and their conditions are favourable and peaceful.

§ 18. An example of the submission of its common people to Truth (*ḥaqq*) and their practice of it, also of their abhorrence of falsehood, is that if a man has a claim against anyone of them, and he happens to meet him wheresoever it may be, a circle [lit.: something like a ring] is drawn for him [the claimant] on the ground. The claimant enters this ring, and the defendant also enters it voluntarily. He does not leave it until he does justice to him and pays the debt, or the claimant excuses him. He then leaves the circle. [5]

§ 19. The food of the inhabitants of NAHRWĀRA consists of rice.

---

[1] Elliot, I p. 88, and Nainar, p. 162: They engage in various games and sham fights.

[2] Elliot, *l.c.*: 'and the commanders of the troops'.

[3] Nainar, p. 161: '(or to deprive his governors of their power)'.

[4] Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 320; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, p. 382; Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*. pp. 12, 13.

[5] See Commentary: Sitting Dharnā, under *Customs*.

chick-peas, [1] beans, [2] haricots, [3] lentils, Indian peas, [4] fish, and animals that die a natural death.

§ 20. They do not slaughter a bird or an animal whether big or small. As for cows, they are forbidden to them absolutely. So, when they die, they are buried. This is what they do in the case of cows especially and exclusively of all other animals. [5] When cows become too weak to render any service or to be of any use, they are withdrawn from labour and it is arranged for them to be looked after and provided with fodder, without being used as beasts of burden, till their death.

§ 21. The people of India cremate their dead. They do not bury them [lit.: they have no tombs].

§ 22. When the king dies, a broad wheeled cart is constructed to his size. It is about two spans or so above the ground. On the cart a crowned dome is placed, and the king, along with his funeral ornaments, is placed on that cart. He is taken round the whole town, and is drawn by his slaves, while his head is left uncovered so that the people can see it, and his hair is dragged along in the dust of the ground. [6] A herald proclaims in the Indian language certain words which in Arabic mean: 'O people! This is your king, so-and-so, son of so-and-so. He lived in his kingdom happy and powerful for these many years. And lo! he is dead. All that he owned is lost to him, and no more does he possess any part of his kingdom, and he is incapable of warding off any injury to his body. [7] So, think of the state in which you are going to be, and to which you are going to return'. [8] All this is said in the Indian language. After the procession is over, he is taken to the place of the pyre, where

---

[1] *Cicer arietinum*.

[2] *Faba sativa* of Jussieu; *vicia faba* of Linnaeus (Lane).

[3] A species of kidney-beans. Greek λόβος (Lane).

[4] A kind of lentil, commonly known in India as *urad*

[5] Nainar, p. 106: 'the people of Hind have a great veneration for oxen and in accordance with a privilege enjoyed only by these beasts, they inter them after death'.

[6] Nainar, p. 150: 'and the hair is drawn out to the ground'.

[7] Elliot, I, p. 89: 'Nothing now remains to him and he will feel no more pain'.

[8] Elliot, *l.c.*: 'Remember, he has shown you the way which you must follow'.

they usually cremate their dead kings. Then they commit him to the flames until he is burnt up.[1]

§ 23. The people of India do not lament much, nor do they believe in grieving on the whole.

§ 24. People belonging to those parts of India in the neighbourhood of Sind where Muslims have intermingled with them bury their dead in their homes secretly at night, and level the ground over them. They do not cry over the dead one, nor do they lament him much, as we mentioned before.

§ 25. Fornication is permissible in the whole country of ***Ballahrā*** except with married women.

§ 26. If a person wishes to have conjugal relations with his daughter, or his sister, or his maternal aunt or paternal aunt, he does so, provided that they are not already married. Similarly, a brother does so with his sister.

§ 27. In the sea opposite the coastal town of BARŪJ lies the island of MALAY, which produces large quantities of pepper.

§ 28. From here to the island of SINDĀN, there are two *majrās*.

§ 29. From this island to the island of BLBQ (*BALLĪN),[2] it is two days' [journey].[3] It is an inhabited and large island, and grows abundant coconuts, bananas and rice.[4] At this place the various routes to the Indian islands branch out. And from this island to the great fathomless sea,[5] it is two days' journey. Again, from this island to the island of SARANDĪB, it is more than a *majrā*.

§ 30. From BARŪJ on the coast to SINDĀBŪR, it is four *marḥalas*. The town of SINDĀBŪR is situated on a large estuary, in which ships cast anchor. It is a commercial town, and has cultivated lands and [the people] have various pursuits and means of livelihood.

§ 31. From here to the town of TĀNA on the coast, it is four days' [journey]. TĀNA is a magnificent town situated on the bank

---

[1] Cf Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 22; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, pp. 167-8; Nainar, p. 151, seems to be correct in pointing out that the information given by Idrīsī in this paragraph has a source other than Sulaymān or Mas'ūdī. It is more probable that he acquired this information from some contemporary traveller who visited Nahrwāra.

[2] See Commentary: *Ballīn, under *Islands*.

[3] Most probably the distance by sea.

[4] Elliot, I, p. 89, adds 'figs' to the above list.

[5] Probably meaning thereby the Bay of Bengal.

of a large estuary, into which boats and vessels enter and where goods are unloaded.[1]

§ 32. On its mountains and plains, bamboos grow, and here bark-milk is produced from the roots of bamboos, and it is carried from here to all countries of the east and west.[2]

§ 33. Bark-milk is adulterated by mixing it with burnt elephant-bones,[3] but the pure kind is obtained from the roots of this prickly Indian reed, as we have already stated.

§ 34. From TĀNA to the town of FANDARAYNA on the coast, it is four *marḥalas*. The town of FANDARAYNA is situated on an estuary of a river flowing down from the direction of MANĪBĀR. Boats of the merchants of the Indian islands, as well as those of Sind, cast their anchors here. Its inhabitants have an abundance of wealth, busy markets, and commercial centres and profits.

§ 35. To the north of this town and near it (*ʿalayhā*), there is a huge and lofty mountain covered with plants. It has inhabited villages and cattle. Around its borders grows cardamom, which is exported from here to all parts of the earth.

§ 36. The cardamom plant very closely resembles the hemp-seed plant. It has pods which contain its seeds.

§ 37. From the town of FANDARAYNA to JIRBĀTTAN, it is five *marḥalas*. It is a populated town situated on a small estuary. It is the land where rice and various grains are found in abundance. It is said that it is from here that the food provisions of SARANDĪB are supplied. In its mountains the pepper plant grows abundantly.

§ 38. From JIRBĀTTAN to ṢINJĪ and KL.KSĀR, it is two days' journey. These two towns are situated on the sea-coast.[4] They are populated and about the same in size, and both of them grow abundant quantities of rice and grains[5]

§ 39. From here to KLK.YĀN, it is a day's journey.

§ 40. From KLK.YAN to LŪLAWĀ and KANJA, it is two days' journey. These two towns have rice and wheat, and the *baqqam*

[1] Elliot, *l.c.*: 'where vessels anchor and from whence they set sail'. Idrīsī's text has: وتحط به الأرحال.

[2] Cf. Abu 'l-Fidā, *Taqwīm*, text, pp. 358-9.

[3] Elliot, I, p. 89: 'ivory cinders'.

[4] Elliot, I, p. 90: 'these are maritime towns near to each other'.

[5] § 38: cf. I. Khur., p. 63.

grows on their soil in abundance. The *baqqam* plant resembles that of oleander. Here coconuts and fruits are also found in abundance. [1]

§ 41. From KANJA to the town of SAMUNDAR, there is a distance of thirty miles. It is a town with spacious markets and abundant profits. The inhabitants have large quantities of merchandise and wealth. There is much sailing and anchoring [of boats] here. It is one of the dependencies of *Qinnauj*, who is the king of those lands. [2]

§ 42. It is situated on an estuary which flows down to it from the town of QASHMĪR.

§ 43. In this town, grains and rice are found in large quantities, and wheat is also available. [3] The aloes-wood is brought here from the country of KĀRAMŪT [4] from a distance of fifteen days' journey, [floated down] in sweet water [by river?]. In that region, there are places where aloes-wood of fine quality and sweet odour grows [or: of fine qualities grows in its seas], and it is brought there from the *QĀMARŪN Mountains. [5]

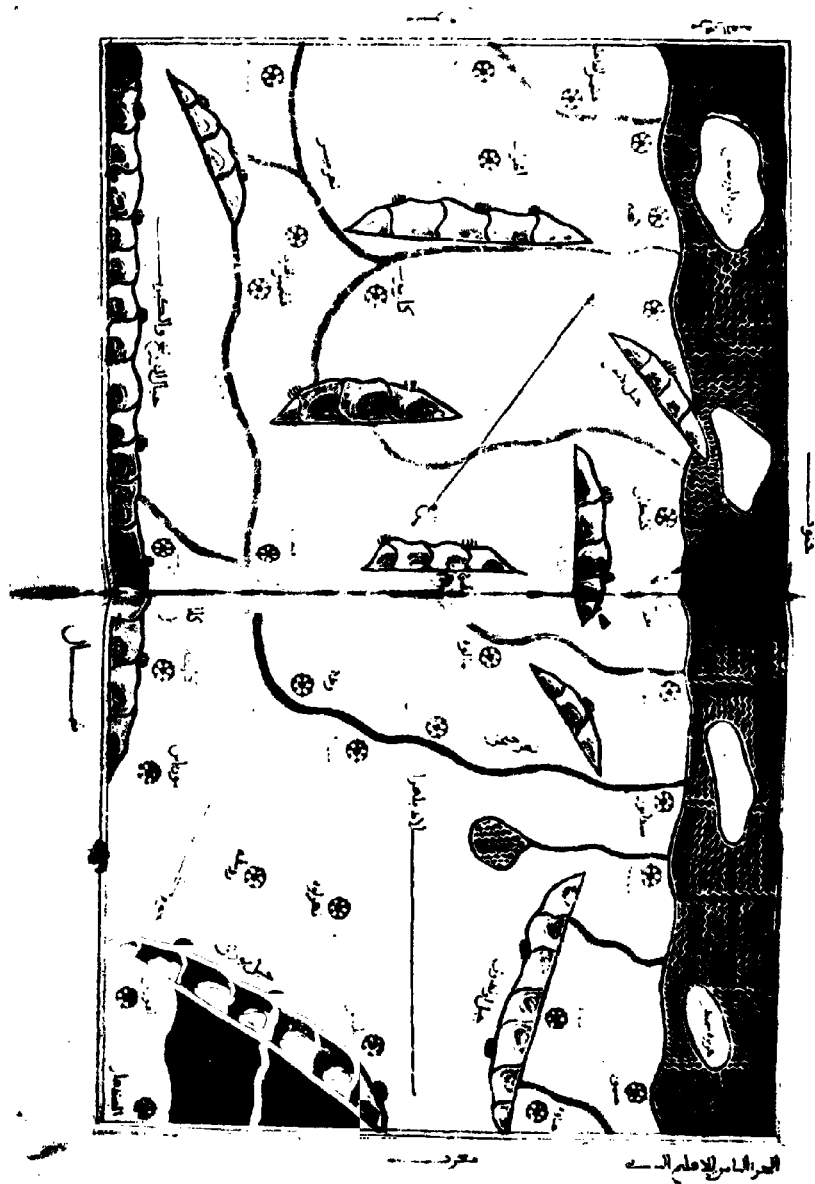
§ 44. This town has a large island facing it. Between the two, there is a distance of an hour's *majrā*. This island is inhabited by people and merchants from all parts of the world. From there to the island of SARANDĪB, it is four *majrās*.

§ 45. To the north of the town of SAMUNDAR is situated the town of INNER QASHMĪR, and between the two, there is a distance of seven *marḥalas*. The town of QASHMĪR is one of the famous towns of India, and it is under the rule of king *(al-)Qinnauj*. From QASHMĪR to KĀRAMŪT, it is four *marḥalas*.

§ 46. From the town of INNER QASHMĪR to QINNAUJ, it is about seven *marḥalas*. It is a large and beautiful town, and full of commercial activity, and the king is called *Qinnauj* after it.

§ 47. It is situated on a large river, which flows into the River M.SLĪ of India. The River M.SLĪ is mentioned by the author of

---

[1] § 40: cf. I. Khur., p. 63.
[2] § 41: cf. *ibid.*
[3] Elliot, I, p. 90: 'especially excellent wheat'.
[4] Cf. I. Khur., p. 64: '*Kāmarūn*'.
[5] § 43: cf. I. Khur., pp. 63-4 Idrīsī's text has: عود جيد طيب فى بجوره (variant: بحوره). See Commentary: Aloes-wood, under *Flora, fauna, etc.*

Eighth section of the second clime (Bodleian Library, MS. Greaves 42, ff. 103v–104r)

the *Book of Marvels.* [1] He says: This river is known as the River of Perfume. Its source lies in the *QĀMARŪN Mountains; then it passes by the main part (*rukn*) of the town of ASNĀN.D and flows on until it reaches the foot of the Mountain of LŪN.YĀ; then, passing along below it, it reaches the main part of the town of KLK.YĀN, and then flows into the sea. Along either bank of this river, various kinds of aromatic plants grow, and it is given this name for that reason.

§ 48. From the town of RASNĀN.D [2] to the town of OUTER QASHMĪR, it is four *marḥalas*. QASHMĪR is one of the famous towns of India.

§ 49. Its inhabitants wage war with the infidel Turks, and it often suffers damage caused by the raids of the Khariukhī Turks. [3]

§ 50. Among the towns of QINNAUJ, there is AṬRĀSĀ. Between this town and the town of OUTER QASHMĪR, it is six *marḥalas*. This town is situated on the River JANJIS [Ganges] of India. It is a beautiful [town] with many buildings and canals, and is one of the frontiers of QINNAUJ, [4] the borders of which extend from KĀBUL to LAHĀWAR.

§ 51. This king *Qinnauj* has a large army and many elephants. His kingdom is vast and magnificent, and none of the continental kings of India possesses as many elephants as he does. He is an extremely zealous personality, and possesses military equipment, weapons and wealth. His might is dreaded by those who adjoin him.

§ 52. From the town of AṬRĀSĀ to the town of N.YĀST, [5] it is five *marḥalas*. It stands on the River JANJIS [Ganges] of India. It is a populated town {with a large number of inhabitants. It grows wheat, rice and abundant quantities of grains.} [6]

§ 53. From here to the town of MĀDYĀR, situated on the bank of the JANJIS, it is seven *marḥalas*. The town of MĀDYĀR has cultivated lands, numerous villages, and settlements. It has commerce, and its inhabitants possess profitable goods.

§ 54. From here to the town of NAHRWĀRA it is seven *marḥalas*.

---

[1] *Kitāb al-ʿAjāʾib*. See the discussion on the sources of Idrīsī's information in the Introduction.

[2] See Commentary: Asnān.d, under *Towns and regions*.

[3] Elliot, I, p. 91: 'Khizliji'.

[4] Elliot, *l.c.*: 'one of the strongest places of Kanauj'.

[5] Elliot, *l.c.*: 'Yánást (Benares?)'.

[6] { }: omitted in Elliot, *l.c.*

NAHRWĀRA is situated to the west of the River JANJIS.[1] It has already been mentioned before.

§ 55. From the above-mentioned MĀDYĀR to the town of MĀLWA, it is five *marḥalas*. MĀLWA is a beautiful town, much frequented by travellers. It has villages, cultivated lands, and dependencies.[2]

§ 56. Among its [dependent] towns are two towns, DADA[3] and TATA.

§ 57. Between MĀLWA and DADA, it is four *marḥalas*, and between DADA and TATA, two *marḥalas*.

§ 58. LAHĀWAR belongs to the aforesaid country.[4]

§ 59. From MAURYDAS to DADA,[5] it is three *marḥalas*. The town of MAURYDAS is well fortified, and is well populated. It has merchants, and troops who guard the frontier of KĀBUL.[6]

§ 60. It is situated at the foot of[7] a very high mountain, the summit of which is difficult of access. On this mountain, bamboos and rattan grow in abundance.

§ 61. From MAURYDAS to the town of QANDAHĀR, it is eight *marḥalas*. This town is situated on a part of the mountain that we mentioned before, and the road between the two [towns] skirts along its base.

§ 62. The town of QANDAHĀR is of a large size and has a big population. They are a people distinguished from others by their beards. They let their beards grow until the major portion of it reaches down to their knees and even beyond. It is wide and very hairy. They have round faces. It is proverbial to talk of their huge and long beards. They dress in the Turkish fashion. They have in their country wheat, rice, grains, goats and cows.

---

[1] Elliot, I, p. 91: 'on the west bank of the Ganges'.

[2] §§ 55-57 and 59: the information contained in these paragraphs on MALWA seems to be based on a source contemporary with Idrīsī, as it is not to be found in the works of the early Arab geographers.

[3] Elliot, *l.c.*: 'Dadh (Darh)'.

[4] Elliot, *l.c.*: 'Lahor is a country which joins the latter' (Jaubert's note mentioned by Elliot. 'Translated conjecturally, for the word is wanting'). The text seems to be complete to me, although LAHĀWAR is mentioned here rather abruptly.

[5] Elliot, *l.c.*: 'Tata'.

[6] *Ibid.*: 'Morídas. . . . is a very strong place, garrisoned by the troops of Kábul'.

[7] *Ibid.*. 'on the declivity of'.

§ 63. They eat dead goats, and certainly do not eat cows, as we have mentioned before.

§ 64. From the town of QANDAHĀR to the town of NAHRWĀRA, it is five *marḥalas* by cart. The people of QANDAHĀR often wage war with the king of KĀBUL.

§ 65. KĀBUL is one of the towns of India, neighbouring on ṬUKHĀRISTĀN. It is a town of magnificent size and beautiful structure. On its mountains fine-quality aloes-wood, coconut, and the black myrobalan of KĀBUL, called after it, [are grown]. Then the saffron bulb grows in its mountains, and it is also cultivated in its swamps. It is reaped here in large quantities, and exported to neighbouring countries. It is one of the choicest and most pleasant towns as far as the climate is concerned It has a fortress which is distinguished for its entrenchment, and which has only one way to climb it. There is a large population of Muslims living in it. It has a suburb where Jewish infidels live.

§ 66. It is in KĀBUL that the contract of investiture of every *Shāhi* king is completed. Here he is obliged to agree to certain ancient conditions which complete the contract. People of distant and nearby regions visit this place [1]

§ 67. The indigo cultivated throughout the villages of the land of KĀBUL has no match in its abundance or in excellence in any of the surrounding countries. It is carried from here to every region of the world, and is known by its name.

§ 68. Again, from KĀBUL fine cloth made of cotton is also supplied. It is carried to China, and is exported to KHURĀSĀN. It is also carried to Sind and its dependencies, and is used in great quantities there.

§ 69. In the mountains of KĀBUL there are iron mines. They are well known and very profitable. Their iron is extremely sharp and beautiful [when turned into swords]. [2]

§ 70. KĀBUL has many [dependent] towns. Among them are ARZALĀN, *KHUWĀSH and KHĪR. It has fortresses, villages, and continuous cultivated lands.

---

[1] § 66: cf. I. Hauqal, p. 450. Cf. Elliot, I, p. 92: 'No king can take the title of Sháh until he has been inaugurated at Kábul'.

[2] Elliot, *l.c.*: 'The metal is of a grey colour, and veined—it becomes very sharp.'

§ 71. From the town of KĀBUL to *KHUWĀSH, it is four *marhalas.*

§ 72. From *KHUWĀSH to HASAK, it is five *marhalas*, and from HASAK to KĀBUL, three *marhalas*.

§ 73. All these towns are equal in size, and have market-places and commerce.

§ 74. From the town of KĀBUL to *LAMTA, it is four *marhalas*. The two towns, *LAMTA and *ZAWĪLA, are situated on the border of the desert contiguous between MULTĀN and SIJISTĀN.

§ 75. *LAMTA and *ZAWĪLA are two towns of middling size. They have a good collection of people, consisting of Sindis, some Indians, and a few people from SIJISTĀN. Both have cultivations of wheat and rice, but few fruits. The inhabitants obtain their drinking-water from springs, small rivulets, water-pits and wells. Here, fine cotton cloth is manufactured and is supplied from here to the neighbouring countries.

§ 76. Among the towns situated to the east of MULTĀN is *AUDUGHUST. From here to QANDAHĀR, it is four *marhalas*; again, from *AUDUGHUST to MULTĀN also, it is four *marhalas*. In *AUDUGHUST, a small quantity of bamboos grows. Its inhabitants indulge in little trade and investment in commerce [lit.: prices]; but the people are rich and have large quantities of goods. [1]

§ 77. From the town of *AUDUGHUST to the town of *ZAWĪLA, it is ten *marhalas*.

§ 78. From *ZAWĪLA to *LAMTA, it is three *marhalas*.

§ 79. From *AUDUGHUST to the town of SINDŪR, it is three *marhalas*.

§ 80. So, this, in general, is the description of the towns included in this section. As for the [portion of the] sea [included in this section], we have already given an account of the islands, which is sufficient and adequate for the purpose.

§ 81. As for the island of SARANDĪB, of which an account has preceded in the First Clime, anyone intending to leave it has to travel towards the mainland [of India] nearest to it; this is the land of the town of JIRBĀTTAN. [2] The distance between the two [points] is less than half a *majrā*.

---

[1] Elliot, I, p. 93: 'The inhabitants are few but rich'.
[2] *Cf.* Elliot, I, p. 93: 'Jirbátan is the place to land at'.

§ 82. If he travels to the east following an oblique course, his landfall (?) would occur at the town of KL.KSĀR, [1] or he would reach the end [2] of the ALĀMRĪ Mountain. [3] This is a high and extremely lofty mountain. It starts from the sea-coast and goes along in an easterly direction, [4] and the sea skirts round it forming a big gulf. From the border of this gulf to the island of SARANDĪB, it is a distance of about four *majrās*. The whole vegetation of this mountain consists of *baqqam*. It is carried from here and exported to all regions. This mountain is very well known. The roots of the *baqqam* cure snake-bites without any delay, as we have mentioned previously. [5] Praise be to God, first and last! This is the end of the Eighth Section; praise be to God. Lord of the Worlds! The Ninth Section will follow it, if God pleases.

(NINTH SECTION OF THE SECOND CLIME)

§ 1. Of the Indian and Chinese towns that this Ninth Section of the Second Clime includes, the towns of India are: ŪRĪSĪN, on the coast of the SALT SEA, then LŪQĪN, QĀQULĀ, and AṬRĀGHĀ . . .

§ 2. . . . In the portion of the sea [included in it], there are the islands of ŪRĪSĪN and S.NĀSĀ. Each of the towns [of this Section] has special characteristics, not found in the others. We are now going to mention each of those, with the power and assistance of God.

§ 3. As for the town of ŪRĪSĪN, [6] it is a small town situated on the sea-coast.

§ 4. But its island is more reputed, because it is very large in size, and has numerous mountains and plants. A large number of elephants are found on it. They are hunted and their tusks are exported from here.

§ 5. As for hunting elephants, there are different views on it, and much has been said about it. There are some people who say

---

[1] *Ibid.*: 'If it is necessary to go towards the east, the landing must be at Kaikasár'. The text reads: (Variant:نسفيته) فاما تقع تصفيته.

[2] *Ibid.*: 'foot of'.

[3] *Ibid.*: 'Umri'.

[4] *Ibid.*: 'stretches towards the north'. See text, variant: الشمال.

[5] *Ibid.*: 'The root of the sapan quickly soothes the pain caused by . . .'

[6] See Commentary, Ūrīsīn, under *Islands*.

that the elephant-hunters go to the spots where they rest at night and to the places where they usually live. There they dig out for them ditches like the ones dug out by the Berber people for hunting lions. As for the shape of such a ditch, its top part is wide, while the bottom part is narrow. They then cover these with thin pieces of wood and straw, and spread earth over it, levelling it, till the ditch is concealed; so that, when the elephants come to their resting grounds, where they usually pass the night, or to the paths leading to their watering-places, where they are accustomed to drink water, and when they pass over the ditch, one of them drops head first [into it]: and the rest of the elephants run away headlong. The hunters stay in their hideouts, from where they watch the elephants drop in; and the moment they see them [falling in], they race towards the object fallen in the ditch. Then, they cut open their flanks and slit their stomachs and leave them to die. Then, jointly, they cut them up and take them out from the ditches piece by piece. They take out their tusks and acquire their ankle-bones.

§ 6. It is related in many accounts of India that in that country the elephants march in file. They pass the night in thickets [in gangs] of two or three or four in each. As for their [habit of] sleeping, they reach the trees and recline against their trunks [lit.: roots], and sleep, reclining one against the other, while standing, because of the thickness of their pasterns and the length of their limb-joints. Then, again, the hunters go to these thickets in the day-time and fell most of them and leave the trees standing in a fatal [position]; after dusk falls, when the elephants as usual come to the trees that they habitually use as support for sleeping, they go on piling up the weight one against the other, until the tree gives way at its base, and the elephants fall with the fall of the tree. And they are not able to stand up again. The hunters then jump towards them with sticks [in their hands], and start beating on their heads until they die. Then, they extract their tusks, which are sold to merchants for large sums, and are carried to different parts of the world. They are utilized in many goods of inlaid work. Many a person has reported that the two big tusks of an elephant weigh two *qinṭārs*, sometimes even more, and sometimes less.

§ 7. As for the birth of elephants, merchants visiting India

relate that the females bear their young in still waters. Thus, they bring forth the young, which drop in the water. So, the mothers hastily hold them in the water on their trunks, and lift them out of it. They keep on licking them till they get dry. Then they gradually bring them to the state of walking until their birth becomes complete. May God, the most beautiful of Creators, be blessed!

§ 8. From among the quadrupeds that God has created, no animal is known to be more intelligent or more fit to acquire training than the elephant. One of the virtues of the elephant is that it never looks towards the private parts of human beings.

§ 9. The kings of India compete with one another in the acquisition of elephants, and exceed one another in their prices. The kings look after them with great care. They are brought when they are young to their elephant-houses; so, they grow up getting accustomed to human beings.

§ 10. They are used in battles; because on the back of a single big elephant fitted with a coat of mail, twelve persons can fight with leather shields, swords, and clubs made of iron. On the head of each of these elephants there is an elephant driver, who urges it ahead with a goad (*mikhṭāf*) with which he pulls its trunk, and beats on its head with a stick or rod (*miṣfa'*) especially made for this purpose; with this the elephant is made to turn. The elephants in the battle[-field] are made to charge one against the other, so that the stronger tramples over the weaker, and their movements include attacks and retreats. All these [facts] about elephants are well known and are observed in India.

§ 11. Elephants are found in great numbers in the island of ŪRĪSĪN. They breed there, and are carried from there to all parts of India.

§ 12. In this island, there are iron mines.

§ 13. In most of its mountains, rhubarb grows, but the rhubarb which comes from China is superior because it is firmer, more deeply coloured, and more effective in curing the liver and in all its uses.

§ 14. In this island there is a tree resembling the castor-oil plant in quality, except that it is full of thorns. Its thorns protrude, preventing one from touching it. It is called *al-shuhkīr*. It has black

roots. The kings of China and India procure it and prepare deadly poison out of it. It is very well known.

§ 15. The Indians and the Chinese do not kill any member of their family or their servants or anyone against whom such a contrivance is possible except by means of poison.

§ 16. In the seas opposite to every estuary of India and China, there are to be found serpents [1] of variegated colours and with different kinds of spots. The sailors know them and recognize them, and as they know their special qualities, they can recognize the serpents of each of these estuaries and also the country in which they are found. Thus they seek guidance by means of them. This is also a well-known fact. These serpents are called *al-mīzara* [2] in the Indian language.

§ 17. From ŪRĪSĪN to LŪQĪN, it is three *marḥalas* along the sea-coast. It is a beautiful town situated on the sea and on the bank of a sweet-water estuary, and boats enter it.

§ 18. From here to the town of ṬARĪGHYŪQIN, it is four *marḥalas.* It is a populated town situated on the coast of the SALT SEA.

§ 19. Opposite to this town in the sea is the island of S.NĀSĀ. It is a populated town and is visited by many [travellers] who come in and go out. Between it and the sea-coast, there is less than half a *majrā.*

§ 20. It is said that in this island, there is a well [volcano?] from which burning fire comes out from time to time and dies down again.

§ 21. From here to QAṬĪGHŌRĀ, it is six *marḥalas* . . .

§ 22. . . . From LŪQĪN, situated on the sea-coast and belonging to India, to QĀQULĀ, it is seven days' journey.

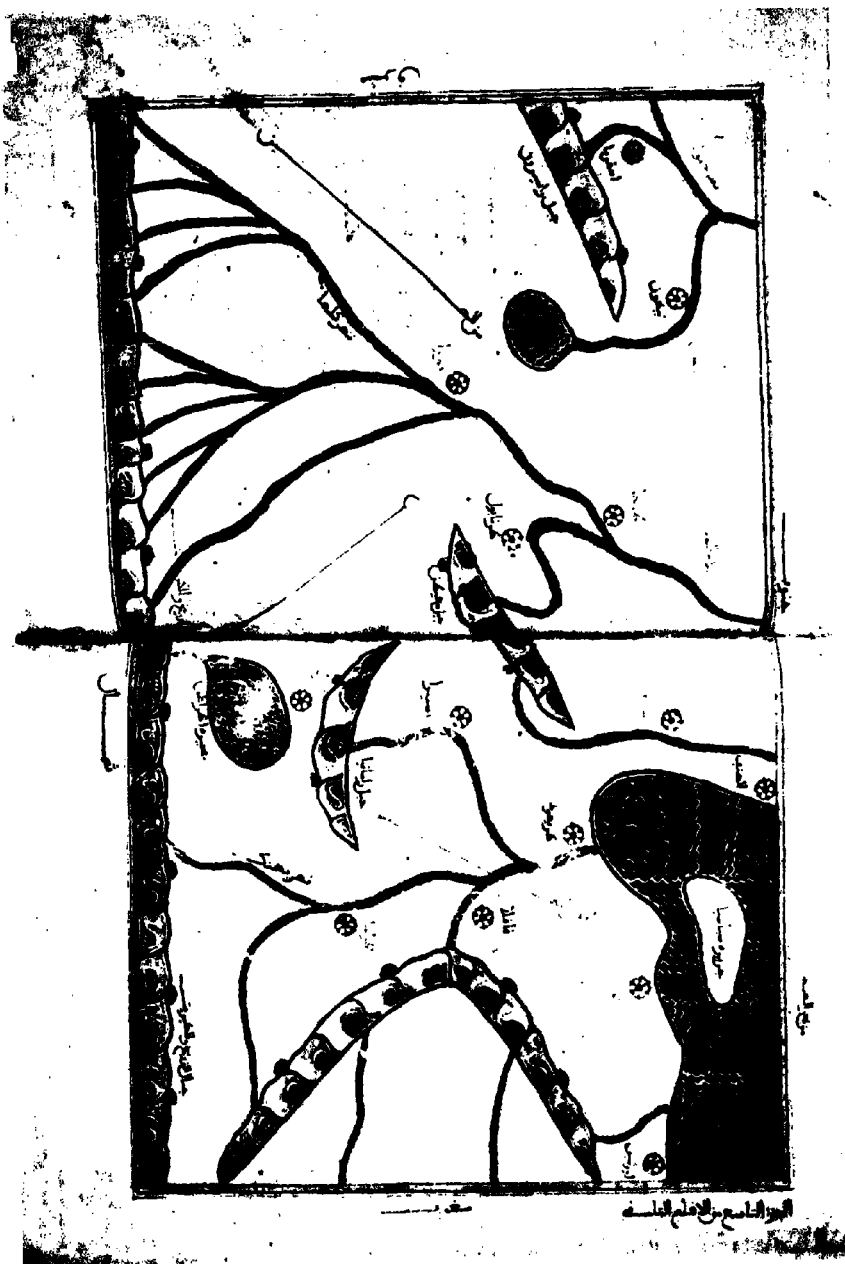
§ 23. It is situated on the bank of a small river flowing into the River BIHANK of India.

§ 24. In the town of QĀQULĀ, silk is found in abundance, and its inhabitants rear silk worms in large numbers. It is after this town that *Qāqulī* cloth and *Qāqulī* silk are named.

§ 25. From the town of QĀQULĀ to the town of QASHMĪR, it is ten *marḥalas.*

---

[1] Jaubert, I, p. 187: 'reptiles'.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 188: المیزراه. See Commentary: al-Mīzara, under *Flora, fauna, etc.*

Ninth section of the second Clime (Bodleian Library, MS. Greaves 42, ff. 109v-110r)

§ 26. Again, from QĀQULĀ to the town of AṬRĀGHĀ, it is four *marḥalas*. AṬRĀGHĀ is a big town belonging to one of the kings of India. It is situated on the bank of the River BIHANK.

§ 27. Here there are large armies, infantry, and military equipment. They [the inhabitants] fight against the Turks. It has rice and [its soil] is fertile. From AṬRĀGHĀ to AṬRĀGHAN, it is ten *marḥalas*.

§ 28. In this section, among the rivers of India, there is the River BIHANK . . . As for the River BIHANK of India, its source lies in the mountain surrounding the extreme north of India.[1] It then passes to the eastern side of the town of AṬRĀGHĀ, then to the place of confluence with the River of QĀQULĀ, until it reaches the sea and flows into it. This takes place at the town of ṬARĪGHYŪQIN.

§ 29. Among the Indians, there is a sect known as *Jalahaktiya*.[2] They believe that the angel *Jalahakt* dived into this river, and that many a time he appears to them in it.

§ 30. So, when anyone of them commits any sin, he comes to this river, and enters it until he reaches the centre of it.[3] There he stays for an hour or more,[4] holding various kinds of odoriferous plants in his hand.[5] He then breaks these into small pieces and throws them one after the other on the river water and goes on praising [God] and reciting [hymns].[6] When he wishes to return, he stirs the water with his hands, and holding some in them, he pours it over his head and his back.[7] Then he prostrates himself and returns[8] . . .

(TENTH SECTION OF THE SECOND CLIME)

§ 1. . . It is related in authentic books of information that the kings of China and most of the kings of India do not give up the

[1] See Commentary: The Surrounding Mountain, under *Mountains*.

[2] Cf. Jaubert, I, p. 102: جلهكير; see Commentary: Jalahaktiya, under *Religion*.

[3] Cf. *Gardīzī*, p. 636.

[4] *Gardīzī*, *l.c.*: 'for more than two hours'.

[5] *Ibid.*: 'He holds sweet basil (*siparghām*) in his hands'.

[6] *Ibid.*: 'throws into the water as he swims (*ashnā*) and sings something'.

[7] *Ibid.*: 'the parts of the body which are not submerged'.

[8] *Ibid.*: 'Then he goes, after a prostration before the water'.

COMMENTARY

practice of the art of drawing. On the contrary, they profess their belief in it and learn it. They take more pains in it than the students [of this art] themselves. They even go to the extent of not nominating any of their sons as their successors, if they happen to have many children, but the one most proficient in the art of drawing and the most skilled among them. The kings of India always follow this practice. No other art is given preference over the art of drawing or making pictures. The art of pottery is placed on a par with it in being superior [to other arts]. Thus, they call the potter 'the small creator' and the picture-maker [painter] 'the great creator' [1] . . .

[1] Jaubert, I, p. 194, uses the word 'artistes' for خالق.

A. GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

I. TOWNS AND REGIONS

ABD.DHY. See *Islands*, Sarandīb.

AGHNĀ. See *Islands*, Sarandīb.

ARMĀBĪL AND QANBALĪ. Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 326; Iṣṭ., p. 178. Armābīl and Qanbalī were two important towns on or near the sea-coast about half-way between Tīz and Daybul at the mouth of the Indus. The ruins of Armābīl are probably at Las Bela, and those of Qanbalī at Khayrokot. (Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 330 & n. 3; *ibid.*, map VII); cf. *Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 123.

ARZALĀN (*روذان?) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 8, § 70c: – ازلان – ارزلان – ارزلاق). Cf. I. Khur., p. 37. He mentions اروان as one of the towns of Kābul. Cf. I. Ḥauqal, ed. de Goeje, pp. 297 and 304: رُوذَان; cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 414, 421. He describes it as a town smaller than Qarnīn lying near Fīrūzqand and to the right of anyone travelling to Rukhkhaj. Cf. Bīrūnī, ed. Togan, p. 28: روذان, long. 92° 45′ (c. 65° E. from Greenwich) and lat. 30° 20′ N. This town may be identified with modern Rudbar on the southern bank of the Helmand.

ASĀWAL. This is the ancient Āśāpalli, on the site of which modern Ahmedabad was founded by Ahmad Shah of Gujerat in 1412 (Nandolal Dey, *I.A.*, 1926, p. 216). It is now a village near Ahmedabad (Altekar, *I.A.*, 1925, p. 16). Cf. Rāzī, p. 87.

ASNĀN.D (اسناند?) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 8, § 3n: رستند – رسناند; *ibid.*, §§ 47g, 48a: اسرانيد – اسنانيد -- اسرانبه – اسنابند – رسنانه – رسنانبر -- رساتد). These seem to be different readings of the name of the same town, but since the town is unidentified, it is difficult to fix the correct reading. According to Idrīsī's description (Tr. pp. 64-65 § 47), the River M.slī (see *Rivers*), after leaving the Qāmarūn Mountains (in Assam), where it had its source, passed along the lower part of this town and flowed on until it reached the foot of the Mountain of Lūn.yā. If we take the M.slī as corresponding

NOTE

Place-names dealt with in the Commentary have been given in capitals in the Translation. Although italics normally indicate the use of a non-English word or name, in the majority of cases such words also serve as catchwords which will be found in the appropriate section of the Commentary.

An asterisk (*) has been used to indicate a better or correct reading of a name. Where many variants are found, I have given only a selection. The asterisk has also been used when a better reading from some other source has been preferred to the form given by al-Idrīsī.

In calculating distances, I have used the following equivalents of the units used by al-Idrīsī:

1 *marḥala* = about one day's march (25 to 30 Arabian miles)
1 'long' *marḥala* = about 40 Arabian miles
1 *farsakh* = 3 Arabian miles
1 Arabian mile = 6,474 ft. (= c. $1\frac{1}{15}$ geographical mile)
1 *mujrā* = one day's journey by sea (I have not been able to ascertain the length of this).

In converting Ptolemy's longitudes into longitudes from Greenwich, I have used a formula derived from Berthelot's calculations (*L'Asie*, pp. 121-22) i.e.

$$L = \frac{2\,(x - 60)^\circ}{3} + 29^\circ\ 55'.$$

where L = longitude from Greenwich (modern style) and x = number of degrees of longitude according to Ptolemy.

to the Brahmaputra, and identify the Lūn.yā Mountain with the Khasi Hills in Assam, then this town would be situated somewhere in Upper Assam. Ptolemy mentions a town ALLOSYGNÊ, a mart, 135° 40′, 11° 20′ (*McCrindle's A.I.*, p. 66). McCrindle suggests the identification of this town with Coringa, a port situated a little beyond point Gôdâvarî (*ibid.*, p. 68). If the River M.slī of Idrīsī corresponds to the Maisôlos of Ptolemy, and the latter to the Godāvarī, our author's Asnān.d should be searched for to the west of the Vaidurya mountains, the northern section of the Western Ghats, which, according to McCrindle, correspond to the Oroudian (or Arouedan) mountains of Ptolemy, and were the source of the Maisôlos. In this case, Idrīsī's information (based on the *Kitāb al-ʿAjāʾib*, see the Introduction) that the Qāmarūn Mountains were the source of the River M.slī, would be wrong. The longitude of Ptolemy's Allosygnê corresponds to 80° 21′ 40″ E. (from Greenwich), and Coringa lies at 82° 18′ E. It should, therefore, be searched for along the meridian 80° in the region of the Godāvarī, and not along the coast. Idrīsī's description of Asnān.d suggests that the town lay in the interior of the country. Berthelot identifies the River Maisôlos with the River Kistna (see M.slī, under *Rivers*).

AṬRĀGHĀ. The exact geographical position of the town cannot be fixed, but some evidence points to its location along the course of the river Song-koi (Red River) in the Tong-King province of Indo-China. In this case the river Bihank (see *Rivers*) may be identified with the Song-koi. According to Ibn Saʿīd, Aṭrāghā was situated in 153° long. and 27° 40′ lat. (see Ferrand, *Relations des Voyages*, II, p. 351; see *ibid.*, p. 349). According to Ibn Iyās "La ville de Aṭrāghā est grande et située sur un fleuve. Son roi a de nombreuses armées. Ses habitants font de rudes guerres aux Tatars. Ils ont des armes et sont extrêmement valeureux. Il y a dans cette ville, un fleuve dans lequel, prétend-on, le roi Djalahkin plongea et il leur reapparaît (seulement) à certaines époques" (Ferrand, *Relations de Voyages*, II, pp. 481-82). This information very closely resembles that given by Idrīsī in §§ 26, 27 and 29, and the latter part of the passage concerning the followers of the Jalabhaktī sect of India is out of place here. It would be more appropriate to speak of it

in the context of the rivers of India. The form Aṭrāghā is probably a mutilation of the Greek 'Οττοροκόρρα, spelt by al-Khwārizmī *Aṭrāqārā* (see Marquart, Ferrand, *Relations de Voyages*, II, 592n and al-Khwārizmī, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 28). See also Bihank, under *Rivers*.

AṬRĀGHAN (اطراغن ?) (Variant: T. Cl. II, s. 9, § 27a: اطراعن). This name seems to be a dittography for Aṭrāghanā = Aṭrāghā (see above); but Idrīsī describes it as a separate town at a distance of 10 *marḥalas* from Aṭrāghā.

AṬRĀSĀ (اطراسا ?) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 8, § 3k: اضرسا; *ibid.*, § 52a: اطراسا). Al-Khwārizmī mentions a town Aṭrāsā (variant: Aṭrāsan, *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 11) and gives its longitude as 140° 30′ and latitude 24° 5′ (?). Ptolemy mentions a town Astrassos ... 131° 15′, 34° 15′ (*McCrindle's A.I.*, p. 124), and McCrindle remarks that this name resembles Atrasa of Idrīsī (*ibid.*, p. 126). Ptolemy's longitude of Astrassos corresponds to 77° 25′ E. (from Greenwich), which indicates the location of the town in the Punjab (India). According to Idrīsī, Aṭrāsā formed a part of the kingdom of Qinnauj and was one of its frontiers (Tr. p. 65 § 50). Considering the extent of the kingdom of Qinnauj (see Qinnauj, under *Kings*), it is likely that this town lay in the Punjab (India). It may tentatively be identified with Karnāl, situated in 29° 41′ N. and 76° 59′ E., on the old bank of the Jamuna, about seven miles from the present course of that river (*I.G.I.*, Oxford, 1908, vol. xv, p. 58). In the Karnāl District, Karnāl, Pānīpat, Thānesar and Pehowa have relics of antiquity (*ibid.*, p. 50). Though Thānesar was sacked by Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 1014, the country remained under Hindu rule until the defeat of Prithwī Rāj at Tirāwari in 1192 (*ibid.*, pp. 49-50). Konrad Miller (*Map. Ar.*, III Band, Asien, I, p. 42), suggests its identification with Hathras in the Aligarh District (27° 36′ N., 78° 4′ E.). Idrīsī describes Aṭrāsā as being situated on the bank of the river Ganges, but Hathras is situated 50 miles to the south-west of the Ganges and 20 miles to the north-east of the Jamuna. The identification of Aṭrāsā with Hathras seems to be incorrect.

ATRĪ (*ANNARĪ) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 1,v: اتری - اری; *ibid.*, § 26b: اروی - آروی). Cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 323, 327. The correct

reading of the name seems to be Annarī. It lay far to the east of the Indus on the road from Manṣūra to Multān. Its situation is uncertain (Minorsky, *Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 246). Cf. Iṣṭ., pp. 175, 179.

AUDUGHUST. See Lamṭa, etc., below.

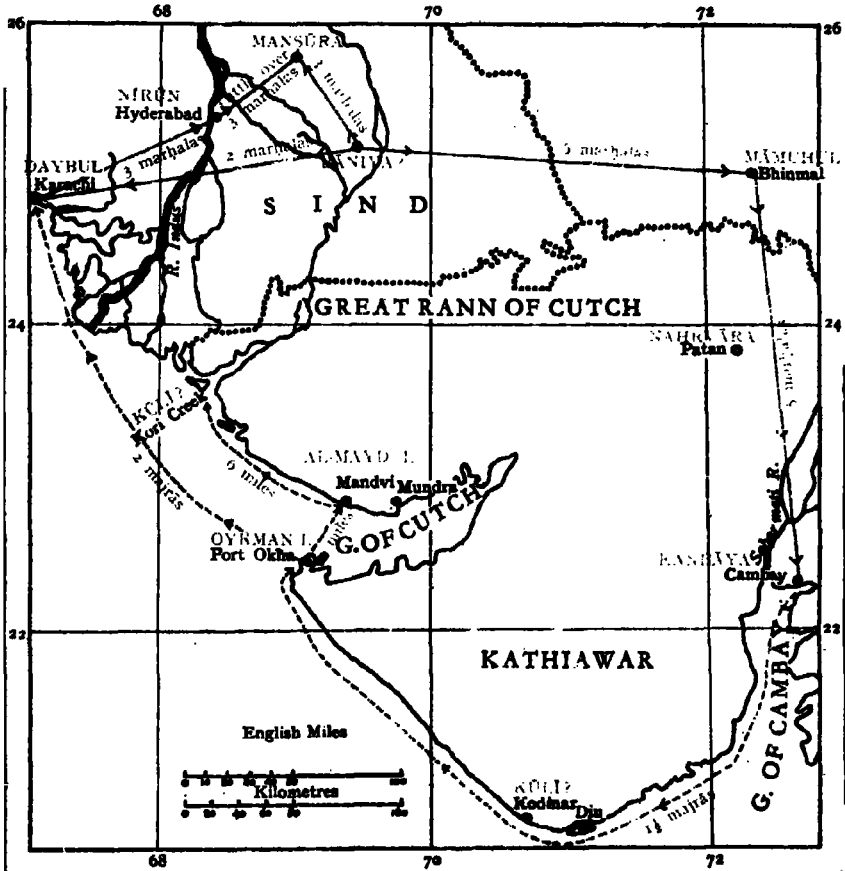
ʿAYDHĀB. This town, now ruined, was situated on the sea-coast of Africa opposite Jidda in N. lat. 22° 19′ 47″ (*Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 474).

BALĪN (?) (*QANBALĪ?) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 7. § 1ap: بليك – بدن – بلين; *ibid.*, § 34j: البلبن). All the towns listed by Idrīsī (Tr. p. 45 § 34) are mentioned by I. Ḥauqal (pp. 319, 325), except the town under discussion, which is given by Idrīsī alone. In his list (Tr. *l.c.*), Idrīsī does not include Qanbalī, which I. Ḥauqal does include in his list. It may be that Idrīsī's *Balīn* and its variants are a misreading of *Qanbalī* as given by I. Ḥauqal. Again, بلين, as given by Idrīsī, may be a dittography for Qanbalī, which is mentioned separately by him in his general list (Tr. p. 40 § 1). See Armābīl and Qanbalī above.

BĀMĪRAMĀN (*BRAHMANĀBĀDH) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 17b: يامرمان – باميومان). Cf. I. Ḥauqal, ed. de Goeje, p. 226: برهمناباذ; I. Ḥauqal, p. 319: بامير امان بالسندية. Cf. Bīrūnī (Ar.T., p. 11), who says that Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, after having conquered *Bamhanwā*, gave it the name of Manṣūra. Again, *Bamhanwā* and *Brahmanābādh* are the same (*ibid.*, p. 162). The Sindhi language (variant: *Hindī*) referred to by Idrīsī was probably the local dialect of Manṣūra called *Saindhava* (cf. Bīrūnī, *India*, I, p. 173). Cf. Manṣūra below. *T.S.*, p. 263: برهناباذ, and in Sindhi: بانبراه.

BĀNIYA (?) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 1z: مانيه; *ibid.*, § 88c: مابيه). Cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 323, 327-8, who says that Bāniya is situated between Manṣūra and Qāmuhul (see Māmuhul below) at a day's journey from Manṣūra. Cf. Iṣṭ., pp. 175, 180; *Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 88: Bābī. According to our author, it was situated at a distance of 3 *marḥalas* from Manṣūra, 6 from Māmuhul and 2 from Daybul. Between Bāniya, Māmuhul and Kanbāya is a continuous desert (Tr. pp. 43, 44 § 21). Again, Māmuhul lay at the head of the desert stretching between itself, Kanbāya, Daybul and Bāniya. From Māmuhul to Manṣūra it is 9 *marḥalas*, the road passing through Bāniya (Tr. p. 54 §§ 88 and 89). Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 325; Iṣṭ., p. 177. On the basis of the itineraries given above, Idrīsī's

MAP I

Map of Sind, Gujarat and Kathiawar, showing some of the distances given by Idrisī

Bāniya must have been to the north of the Great Rann of Cutch, and should be searched for in the neighbourhood of Umarkot. See Map I.

BARŪJ. This is modern Broach (correct spelling Bharoč), situated in the Gulf of Cambay.

BIH. See Kēh below.

BIND. Cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 319, 326; Iṣṭ., pp. 171, 178. Minorsky identifies it with Bint (*Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 373). According to Idrīsī, the distance between Bint and Qaṣr Qand is one *marḥala* (Tr. p. 48 § 47), but according to I. Ḥauqal, p. 326, and Iṣṭ., p. 178, from Bint to Beh is one day's journey, and from Beh to Qaṣr Qand, another day's journey.

BRUNSHLY. See *Islands*, Sarandib.

B.SM.D (?) (بسمد) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 15: بسمک – شبک; *ibid.*, § 25b: بشمر; *ibid.*, § 68a: بسمند). I. Ḥauqal, p. 322, describes it as a small town situated, like Multān, below Jandrōr, and says that it is spelt with either ب (b) or ف (f). *Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 89, also describes it as 'a small but very pleasant town in Hind (Panjāb?)'. The correct reading of the name is uncertain. The form given by Yāqūt, in *Muʿjam*, *viz.*: SAMANDŪR, seems to be incorrect. According to some writers, this town was situated two days' journey from Multān, and three days from Rōr (I. Ḥauqal, p. 327; Iṣṭ., p. 179; Muqaddasī, p. 486; cf. Idrīsī, Tr. p. 44 § 25) on the eastern bank of the Indus (Mihrān), one *farsakh* (3 miles) (variant. 2 *farsakhs*) from the river according to Iṣṭ., p. 175, and about half a *farsakh* from it according to I. Ḥauqal, p. 322. Again, according to I. Ḥauqal, p. 328, the river Sindrūdh (in *Ḥ.ʿA*, identified as the principal course of the Indus [Minorsky, *Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 210]) joined the river Mihrān before (north of) B.SM.D, and Multān was about three days' journey from this river. Cf. Idrīsī, Tr. p. 52 § 68. This places this town a little over three days' journey south of Multān. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 439, describing the campaigns of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim in Sind, places it between Manṣūra and Rōr. If we take the first statement as our basis, namely, that it was two days south of Multān and three days north of Rōr, then it could tentatively be placed somewhere about 90 miles south of Multān and 3 or 1½ miles to the east of the Indus, or in the neighbourhood of Khanpur.

The name of the river *Panjnad*, which carries the waters of the Chenab and the Sutlej into the Indus, resembles B.SM.NAD, one of the readings of the town in question.

B.THRĪ (*BULRĪ?). See Qāllarī, below.

DADA. This seems to be a corruption of *Dara* (< Dhar). Dhar, situated in Central India, is an old town. For about five centuries it was the capital of the Paramāra chiefs of Mālwa (*I.G.I.*, vol. XI, pp. 293-6). Cf. Bīrūnī, ed. Togan, p. 17: دهار; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives the reading Ẓihār (vol. III, p. 329; IV, pp. 42, 45).

DANDAMA. The two small towns of Dandama and Janṭama are described by Idrīsī as belonging to the land of Sufāla (east coast of Africa). The actual geographical position of these towns is uncertain, but from his description it appears that they were important coastal towns as far as trade in iron was concerned (Tr. p. 23 §§ 1 & 2).

DAYBUL. According to U. M. Dā'ūdpota, Daybul was situated near the modern port of Karachi (*T.S.*, pp. 262-4). His arguments are as follows: Haig (*The Indus Delta Country*, p. 68) identifies Lāhrī Bandar with Loharānī, which, according to al-Bīrūnī (*India*, I, pp. 205, 208, 260, 316), was situated on the western mouth of the Mihrān and was 36 miles from Daybul. According to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, p. 378, the Mihrān, passing through the town of Shākira (identified with the present Mīrpur Sākra by Dā'ūdpota), flows into the Indian Ocean about two days' journey from Daybul. (Dā'ūdpota puts this distance at 12 *farasangs* or 36 miles). The distance between Sākra and Gasrī Bandar (near Karachi) is approximately 36 miles as the crow flies. Hence Daybul should be sought for near Karachi.

Haig places Daybul on the ruins of Kākar Bakīra, near Mīrpur Sākra (*The Indus Delta Country*, pp. 46-7), and Raverty places it near Pir Pattha. Dā'ūdpota disagrees with these opinions.

According to I. Khur., p. 62, the distance between Daybul and the mouth of the Mihrān is two *farsakhs*, or 6 miles. The same distance is also given by Idrīsī (Tr. p. 41 § 7).

DIRAK-YĀMŪNA. See Māsūrjān, below.

DIZAK (Variant: *passim*: درك). Dizak is 'situated south-west of Jālk' (*Ḥ.'A.*, p. 373). Al-Khwārizmī mentions that Dizak is situated on a mountain (*Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 14). This mountain

is the Bāmpusht Koh, the highest mountain in Makrān (*I.M.H.*, p. 63).

DŌLQA. See Janāwal, below.

FAHRAJ. This town still exists. It is situated about 20 miles north of Rigan in Kerman. See Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 313; *ibid.*, map VI.

FANDARAYNA. This is Pantalāyini, or Pantalāyini Kollam, north of Quilandi, one of the most historic places of Malabar (Nainar, p. 35). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa spells it Fandaraynā, and says that the Chinese boats pass their winter, meaning the rainy season, there (IV, p. 88). The mountain situated to the north of this town (Tr. p. 63, § 35) is Mount Delly, 855 ft. high, which lies 18 miles to the north of Cannanore. It is said to be visible to sailing vessels from a distance of 25 miles. On the etymology of the name of this mountain and other aspects of it, see Hodīvālā, *I.M.H.*, pp. 69-70.

FĪRBŪZ/FĪRBŪS. The variants of the name seem to be a mutilation of 'Fanjbūr' which was probably the original arabicized form of PANJ-GŪR. Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 325, who describes Fanjbūr as the largest town of Makrān. Cf. Ya'qūbi, p. 286; Muqaddasī, p. 475: بنجبور. It lay inland, at the place now known as Panjgūr. It was the capital of the province of Makrān, Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 329. See *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 373.

FOROSQŪRĪ. See *Islands*, Sarandīb.

FULFAHRA. This is PULPAHRA (the bridge-watch), now Pahraj, east of Bampūr. See *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 373. The distance between Fulfahra and Rāsk (see below) given by Idrīsī (Tr. p. 48, § 47) is two *marḥalas* but I. Ḥauqal gives this distance as three *marḥalas*. (I. Ḥauqal, p. 326).

ḤĀM.RY. See *Islands*. Sarandīb.

ḤASAK (*Khushk ?) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 8, § 72b: جسك – خسك; *ibid.*, § 72d: خواس). Cf. I. Khur., p. 37. خُشّك. Is it Kushk, north-east of Herat?

AL-ḤAUR (*الحور) (Variants: T. Cl. II. s. 7, § 1h: الحوز – ابخور – اخور; *ibid.*, § 32b: الجوز). Jaubert, I, p. 160: خور. 'Holdich believes Khūr to be now represented by Khair, a village near the Malir water works of Karāchi. There is a fine group of Arab tombs there in a good state of preservation' (*I.M.H.*, p. 63). According

to Idrīsī, however, it lay between Fīrbūz and Manjābrī. It is a small but populated town (Tr. p. 45, § 32). A town 'Haor' is shown on the river of the same name in Sind, on the map of India by T. Kitchin included in Millar, *The New and Universal System of Geography*, London, 1782, in about 26° 30′ N. lat. and 83° 30′ E. long. (of the map). The position of this town approximately corresponds to Jhau, about 45 miles east of Bela in Baluchistan. Al-Ḥaur may have been located somewhere in the neighbourhood of Jhau.

'ĪL (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 74e' ابل – ايل). Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 326: أيل (variant: أتل). The reading of this name is uncertain. *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 123: 'ABL (?)'; Minorsky, *ibid*, 'AYL (Ütl, &c., ?)', p. 373. A place, 'Ital'. is shown in the map in *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, transl. by A.-F. Prévost d'Exiles, vol. X, Paris 1752, map I. It is placed on the east bank of the Makeshid river, and to the north-east of 'Pengepour' (Panjgūr ?). It may be interesting to note that a town, 'Uthal', is shown on modern maps in the province of Las Bela, and the Budhas did extend as far as this province. The origin of the name of this town may be the same as that of the town in the north under discussion. The town is unidentified. See 'Īl, under *Kings and Kingdoms*.

JĀBA. Minorsky identifies Jāba with Chambā, on the head-waters of the river Rāvi, north-east of Ṭakka-deśa (*Ḥ.'A.*, pp. 249-50). See also 'Āba, under *Kings and Kingdoms*.

JANĀWAL and DŌLQA. Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 319, and I. Ḥauqal, ed de Goeje, p. 227. Idrīsī places Janāwal and Dōlqa between Broach and modern Patan. Furthermore, he places Dōlqa on a river which has Broach on its west, meaning thereby the river Narbada. Then he says that these two towns are situated at the foot of the mountain, Ūndiran (the Vindhya range), which lies to their north. Again, he places Janāwal near Asāwal (Tr p. 59, §§ 9-11), a village near Ahmedabad. It is very improbable that this Janāwal and Dōlqa, which is hardly a day's journey from Janāwal, could be situated on the Narbada, east of Broach. In fact, Idrīsī seems to have placed these towns on the wrong river, and Elliot, I, p. 357, has pointed out this confusion. According to him, the river Narbada has been confused with

the Sabarmati and the Mahi rivers, 'and if Cambay be substituted for Broach in Idrīsī's description, the account, so far as we understand it, will be consistent with itself and with the other writers'. Hodīvālā identifies Janāwal with Chunwāl, the old name of the district round about the town of Viramgam. A pargana of that name still exists in the Viramgam taluka, and there is a branch post office at a village called Chunwāl-Dāngarwa (*I.M.H.*, pp. 67-8).

As for DŌLQA, according to Idrīsī the distance between this town and Janāwal is hardly one day's journey. Janāwal being near Ahmedabad, the distance between Dōlqa and Ahmedabad would be about one day's journey. There is a well-known place called Dholka south-west of Ahmedabad. Originally it was known as Dhavalakka (Idrīsī's reading can also be pronounced as *Dawalaqqa*). It probably arose as a town when Anahilapaṭṭan (Patan, the Nahrwāra of Arab writers) became an important capital and commercial town in the 10th century, and was situated between Cambay, a port with an extensive import and export trade, and Patan. During the 12th and 13th centuries it was one of the most important cities in Gujerat It became the capital under Vāghelā rule (Altekar, *I.A.*, vol. 54, p. 26).

JANṬAMA (Variant: T. Cl. I, s. 8, § 1e: حنطمة). The town is unidentified. See Dandama, above.

JIRBĀTTAN (جرباتن) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 102f: جرن – حرتين – جربن – حرهن; *ibid.*, Cl. II, s. 8, § 2e: جرتين – حرس: *ibid.*, § 38a: جرتبان). This is identified with Srīkandapuram, ten miles due east of Taliparamba. Idrīsī seems to have misplaced it (Nainar, p. 41). Cf. *Ḥ.'A.*: NŪBĪN (?)', p. 87; I. Khur., p. 63: *Bābattan.* Minorsky points out that whatever the proper reading of the first element of this name, the place certainly lay south of the Coromandel coast (*Ḥ.'A.*, p. 243). In another place Idrīsī mentions the distance between Ceylon and the nearest coastland of Jirbāttan as less than half a *majrā* (T1. p. 68, § 81). See Ṣinjī below.

JUNDŪR (*Chandrōr). Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 322: الجندور; Iṣṭ., p. 175 جندراور, *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 89. Raverty visited this vicinity in about 1854, for while writing the chapter on Arab authors in 1889

(*Mihrān*, p. 188), he mentioned in the note on 'Jandūr' that he had visited it some 35 years earlier (*ibid.*, p. 194). He describes the remains of many brick-built buildings, which bore the marks of considerable antiquity, with a good-sized mosque among them. They were situated east of the fortress of Multān, at a distance of about a mile and a half or a little over, and extended a considerable distance either way. These ruins were bounded further east by the bed of a stream, a small branch of the Rāvī (*Mihrān*, p. 194). J. Dowson (Elliot, I, pp. 40, 380-81), on the basis of the information given by Ḥāfiẓ-i Ābrū that the Chenab was called 'Jamd', suggests that the name of the place may have been 'Jamdrúd', and places the town on the Chenab. This seems to be a wrong location of the town.

KANBĀYA. Yule (*Marco Polo*, II, p. 398, note 1) says that, according to Col. Tod, the proper name of Kanbāya was *Khambāvati*, "the city of the Pillar", and says that this ancient city is 3 miles from the existing Cambay, and is now overgrown with jungle.

KANJA. According to I. Khur., p. 63, the distance between 'Kūdāfarīd' and 'Kaylakān', 'al-L.wā' and 'Kanja', is two days. Minorsky identifies Kanja with Ganjam (*Ḥ.'A.*, p. 241). Nainar identifies it with Conjeevaram (near Madras), and says Kanja is old 'Kānchīpuram', the capital of the Cōla kings. Nainar says that on the basis of the narratives of both I. Khur. and Idrīsī, it appears that the towns of 'Kalkayān' and 'Lūlū' are inland towns between Kūdāfarīd (Aḷimukam near Cranganore) and Conjeevaram. The time given to cover the distance is two days, and according to another version of Idrīsī's MS., three days, which seems to be rather insufficient (Nainar, p. 49). Then he says, 'Thus we understand from Ibn Khurdādhbeh that the sea route ends with Kūdāfarīd (Aḷimukam) and then the land route takes us to Conjeevaram on the east coast' (Nainar, p. 52), and goes on to say that only 'Kaylkān' and 'Lawā' are mentioned in the middle, but that the time given to cover the distance, i.e. two days, appears to be insufficient.

I am inclined to prefer Idrīsī's text to I. Khur.'s, for he gives a separate distance between KLK.YĀN and KANJA of two days (Tr. p. 63, § 40), whereas I. Khur., p. 63, gives a total distance of 2 days from Kūdāfarīd to Kanja. This may be explained

by the fact that Idrīsī consulted the more complete edition of I. Khur. Thus, if we place Idrīsī's KLK.YĀN (see below) north of Kūdāfarīd (the river Godāvarī), then the distance between this town and KANJA (= Ganjam, following Minorsky's identification) of two days would be more correct. See Ṣinji, below.

KĀRAMŪT (< Kāmarūpa, Assam). See *Kings and Kingdoms*, Qāmarūn.

KASHAD (?) (كشد) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 1aj: كشا – كسد). This town is mentioned only in the general list by our author, and is unidentified.

KĒH and BIH. According to Kramers, perhaps به (نه) and كه are the same town (I. Ḥauqal, p. 317, n.); *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 123, gives Bih (به), which, according to Minorsky, is Geh (*ibid.*, p. 373).

KHĀBĪRŪN (خابيرون) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 85d: خابسرو: *ibid.*, § 109a: حابيرون – خامرون) Hodīvālā suggests as its pronunciation 'Khabīrwan', and identifies it with Kapadvanj, a town of considerable antiquity mentioned in a Rāṣṭrakūṭa copper-plate grant dated 909 A.D. as 'Kārpaṭavanijya' (*I.M.H.*, p. 67).

KHARŪJ (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 34b: الخوارج). Cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 319, 325; I. Ḥauqal, ed. de Goeje, pp. 226, 232: الخروج; I. Khur.'s (p. 55) Kharūn should be read as *Kharūz*, as suggested by Marquart (Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 373). This was a district in Makrān of which the town was Rāsk.

KHĪR (خير – *جيزه) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 8, § 70e: حسن – خبر). Cf. I. Khur., p. 38, who gives the reading: خيره, but I. Ḥauqal, p. 413, gives a better reading: جزه. Jizah (or Gizah) lay half-way between Qarnīn and Farah in Sijistān (Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 343; *ibid.*, Map VIII).

KHŪ-KAKHLIYĀ (خوكخليا ?) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 76a: حوركحليا – حوركخلبا – خوركحليا). The town is unidentified. In I. Ḥauqal's map of Sind, p. 316, حوركجليا is shown on the road from Qandābīl (Gandāwa) to Mastanj. The reading of the name cannot be ascertained.

*KHUWĀSH. It lay on the bank of the river of the same name, about one day's march from Zaranj. See Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 342 and n. 2.

KĪRKĀYĀN (*كيركايان) (Variant: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 42c: كيركانان). Cf.

I. Ḥauqal, p. 325: خرذان (variant: جدران). كيركايان is most probably a mutilation of خزدار (*Quzdār). It is not the same as Kīzkānān. See Quzdār below.

KĪZ. I. Ḥauqal, p. 325, describes it as about half the size of Multān, whereas Idrīsī (Tr. p. 46, § 35) describes it as about the same size as Multān. I. Ḥauqal, p. 326, and Iṣṭ., p. 178, both say that anyone who intends to go from Fannazbūr to Tīz of Makrān passes through Kīz. Our author mentions the 'land of Makrān' instead of Tīz of Makrān (Tr. p. 46, § 38). The distance between Kīz and Armābīl given by I. Ḥauqal, p. 326, and Iṣṭ., p. 178, is 6 days' journey, whereas Idrīsī gives the distance as 2 *marḥalas* (*l.c.*). Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 333. This town is identified with Kēch, the name of a district east of the Nihang river (*Ḥ.'A.*, p. 373).

KĪZKĀNĀN. This is probably identical with Kalāt (see Minorsky. *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 373; cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 332).

KL.KSĀR (*كلكسار?) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 8, § 2h: كنكار - كيكسار - كىكار; *ibid.*, § 38c: كبنكسار; *ibid.*, § 82f: كللسار). Cf. I. Khur., p. 63: *Kabashkān*. Nainar points out the similarity between this name and Kalaikarias, which is identified rather doubtfully with Cahlacory by Kanaka Sabhai Pillay (Nainar, p. 77). Commenting on Ptolemy's Kalaikarias (116° 40′, 14°), McCrindle says that the last half of this word (i.e. *Karias*) is doubtless the Tamil word for 'coast', *Karei* (*McCrindle's A.I.*, pp. 48, 51). He too identifies it with 'Chalacoory' to the north-east of Cranganore, and at about the same distance from it as Ptolemy makes Kalaikarias distant from Mouziris (Kranganur). One of the readings of Idrīsī, namely, *Kl.ksār*, resembles Kalaikarias of Ptolemy. The last part of the word, namely, *-ksār*, may have been obtained by metathesis from the word *karias*. We may, therefore, tentatively identify this town with Cahlacory. See Ṣinjī, below

KLK.YĀN/KLYKĀN (?) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 8, § 2f: كليكان - كلكار; *ibid.*, § 47i: بلكيان). Cf. I. Khur., p. 63: *Kaylakān*. A comparison of the text of Idrīsī with that of I. Khur. shows that it is possible that Idrīsī has omitted the information regarding Kūdāfarīd given by I. Khur., whose itinerary is as follows: from Bābattan (Idrīsī: Jirbāttan) to Sinjili (Idrīsī: Ṣinjī) and Kabashkān (Idrīsī: Kēkasār, see KL.KSĀR), it is one day's journey; from

there to the mouth of the Kūdāfarīd, 9 miles; and from here to Kaylakān, etc., it is two days' journey. Thus, if we accept this omission on the part of Idrīsī, this town would lie somewhere north of the Kūdāfarīd, or the river Godavari as identified by Minorsky (*Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 241); cf. de Goeje, I. Khur., p. 63, note k. Minorsky suggests the identification of this town with the Portuguese 'Calingam' (*ibid.*).

Nainar, pp. 51-2, identifies Kūdāfarīd with 'Aḷimukam', by which name 'the mouth of the Periyar, south of Kodungallur, is known even now'. This would shift Kūdāfarīd from the east coast of India to the south-west coast, and in that case the KLK.YĀN of Idrīsī would lie somewhere south of Aḷimukam.

If, on the other hand, we accept the text of Idrīsī as complete, without any omission, then a minor change in the text would be necessary. The word *minhā* (T. Cl. II, s. 8, § 39) has the variant *minhumā*. I have preferred the former reading in the text on the assumption that Kūdāfarīd has been omitted from Idrīsī's text. In this case '*hā*' refers to Kūdāfarīd, but if we read it as '*humā*', then it would refer to Ṣinjī and Kakasār (Kl.ksār). See Ṣinjī, below.

KNBLY. See under *Islands*, Sarandīb.

KSK.HĀR (کسکهار?) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 2d: کشکهار–کسهار). No details about this town are given by Idrīsī, except that it formed a part of the island of Daybul. It may, however, tentatively be identified with Kākar Bakīra, near Mīrpur Sākra. In the delta of the Indus there are several sites of ruined cities, such as Lāhori, Kākar Bakīra, Samui, etc., and among ruined forts are those of Charlo Chakar, and Raniji (*I.G.I.*, Oxford, 1908, vol. xv, p. 4). See Daybul, above.

KŪLAM MALAY. This is Quilon. Idrīsī has described it as a *jazīra*, which may mean either an island or a peninsula.

KŪLĪ. The Kūlī in § 97 (Tr. p. 55) seems to correspond to Kodinar north-west of Diu. Cf. *Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 62: 'the district of Kūlī in Kanbāya', which may be identified with 'Kūlīnar of the *Moḥīṭ* and *Qulinar*, Curinal shown on the Portuguese maps north-west of Diu', Minorsky, *ibid.*, p. 210. Minorsky points out that the actual distance from Kūlī to Sindān exceeds that of 18 *farsakhs* given by I. Khur., p. 62. Idrīsī gives 10 *marḥalas* from Kūlī to

Sindān (Kūlī - Sūbāra = about 5 *marḥalas* and about the same from Sūbāra to Sindān, Tr. p. 55 § 97, 56 § 99). Then, the Kūlī in § 96 (Tr. p. 55) seems to correspond to the Kori Creek, the ancient estuary of the River Indus. See *Islands*, Oykman.

KULWĀN. See Al-Rāhūn, below.

*AL-KUMKAM (spelt: الكمكم or الكـكـكم, T. Cl. I, s. 10, § 7b). Cf. Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 12: كُمْكَم. This is Konkan, the coastal region stretching between Bombay and Goa.

KŪSHA and QADĪRĀ (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 1ai: كوسه; and of the latter, *ibid.*, § 1r: قديدا; *ibid.*, § 76c: قدمرا - قدبرا). Cf. I. Ḥauqal's map, p. 316: *Kūsha* and *Qadīrā*. These towns lay on the road from Quzdār (Khuzdar) to the bank of the river Mihrān (cf. description of the map, *ibid.*, p. 318).

KUSHDĀN. See Quzdār, below.

LAHĀWAR. This is Lahore on the Rāvī (see Minorsky, *Ḥ.ʿA.*, pp. 246-7).

*LAMṬA, *ZAWĪLA and *AUDUGHUST. These towns really belong to *al-Maghrib* (I. Ḥauqal, pp. 92-93), and Idrīsī has mistakenly introduced them in his description of India and has even gone to the extent of giving arbitrary distances between them and towns of India (Tr. p. 68, §§ 74-79). Professor Minorsky drew my attention to this negligence on the part of Idrīsī. Cf. Ferrand, *Relations*, II, pp. 480-1: Ibn Iyās mentions *Shīṭa* and *Zawīla*, which Ferrand compares with Idrīsī's *Kalbaṭa* (**Lamṭa*) and *Rōmla* (**Zawīla*). Ibn Iyās's *Shīṭa* should be read as *Lamṭa*. See Introduction, p. 10, n. 2.

LŪLAWĀ (لولوا ?) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 8, § 2i: لولو -- لولوار; *ibid.*, § 40b: اللولوا — اللولو). Cf. I. Khur., p. 63: اللّوا — النواو. The town is unidentified and the reading cannot be ascertained. From Idrīsī's description, it appears that this town was situated close to Kanja (see above). See Ṣinjī, below.

LŪQĪN (لوقين). 'Lūqīn, (or better, *Lū-fīn) corresponds to Lung-Pien in Tonkin, 12 miles south-east of Hanoi' (Minorsky, *Marvazī*, p. 82). The distance from the town of Ūrīsīn, Orissa, (see under *Islands*, Ūrīsīn) to Lūqīn along the coast is given by Idrīsī as 3 *marḥalas* (Tr. p. 72 § 17), which bears no relation whatsoever to the actual distance. See Bihank, under *Rivers*.

MĀDYĀR (مادیار?) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 8, § 3h: ماکریار - مادبار; *ibid.*, § 53a: مادمار). This town may be identified with Mathura, but then Idrīsī seems to have confused the river Jamuna with the Ganges. Besides, his itineraries (Mādyār-Nahrwāra = 7 *marḥalas*, and again, Mādyār-Mālwa = 5 *marḥalas*) are inaccurate. The reason probably lies in the fact that he described his map of India, which in itself is faulty. The river Ganges of his map, instead of following the true course, flows down southwards and then, passing through the peninsula (nearer to the western coast) flows into the sea near Jirbāttan! This, naturally, places towns like Mathura much nearer to Nahrwāra and other towns than they actually are.

MĀKHAULŪN. See *Islands*, Sarandīb.

MALŪN (مالون?) (cf. Elliot, I, p. 77 n. 1: *Falon*). The town is unidentified. No detailed description is given by Idrīsī. Cf. I. Khur., p. 68: قالون (variant: بالون), a famous town of India.

MĀLWA. By 'the town of Mālwa', probably Ujjain is meant. The first capital of the Paramāra chiefs of Mālwa was Ujjain; but Vairisinha II, at the end of the 9th century, moved to Dhār, which became from this time actually, if not nominally, the capital of Mālwa. Ujjain appears however, to have been still recognized as the capital, even in the beginning of the 11th century (*I.G.I.*, vol. XI, p. 293). On the decline of the Paramāra power at the end of the 11th century, Ujjain appears to have fallen temporarily to the Tonwars and Chauhans (*ibid.*, vol. XXIV, p. 114). The 'town of Mālwa' may also be identified with Mandū, over which the Paramāra dynasty ruled in the 8th-13th centuries (Minorsky, *Ḥ.ʿA.*, pp. 245-6).

MĀMUHUL (*قامهل?) (Variant: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 85b. قامهل). According to Idrīsī this town lay between India and Sind (Tr. p. 44, § 22). By some it is considered to be a part of India and by others to be a part of Sind. It is situated at the head of the desert lying between it, Kanbāya, Daybul and Bāniya (Tr. p. 54, § 88); the distance from here to Manṣūra via Bāniya is nine *marḥalas*, and from here to Kanbāya, it is five *marḥalas* (Tr. p. 54, §§ 89-90). I. Ḥauqal, p. 319, counts it as one of the towns of India, and gives the distance from it to Manṣūra as two days' journey (p. 328), and elsewhere, as eight days' journey (p. 327); and the distance

between Qāmuhul and Kanbāya as four days' journey (*ibid.*); again, the land between Qāmuhul and Ṣaymūr belonged to India (*ibid.*, p. 323). Iṣṭ., pp. 176, 179, also places it at four days' journey from Kanbāya, and at the beginning of the frontier of India. *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 88, counts it as a part of Ballahrāy's kingdom. From these descriptions, it can be gathered that 1) this town lay somewhere along the south-eastern fringes of the Thar Desert; 2) it was on the frontier line between India and Sind; 3) the distance from it to Manṣūra was approximately twice as much as the distance between it and Kanbāya in the south. Elliot, pp. 363-4, identified it with Patan. He took 'Amhal' as one of the readings in Iṣṭ. (*ibid.*, p. 27) and preferred it as correct, thinking that 'Amhal' stood for Anhal (= Anhal + wara = Nahrwāra, which is Patan). But this reading is not given in de Goeje's edition of Iṣṭakhrī. See Iṣṭ., p. 172. Hodīvālā, *I.M.H.*, p. 38, also thinks that Qāmuhul, etc. are errors for 'Amhal'. These opinions may be rejected as incorrect. Nahrwāra, identified with Patan, was known to the Arab writers as 'Nahrwāra' or 'Anhilwāra', etc. and it is very unlikely that they used only the first syllables, namely 'Anhal' of the name. Besides, it is not certain that there is such a reading as 'Amhal' in Iṣṭakhrī. Cunningham identifies it with Umarkot (*Anc. Geog.*, ed. 1871, p. 290), but this town seems to occupy a much more westerly position than that assigned to Māmuhul by the Arab geographers. Bīrūnī, ed. Togan, p. 16, mentions in his Tables قلعة بهلمال (variant: بلهمال) at long. 96° 45′ and lat. 23° 50′, and counts it as a part of *al-Bawārij* (Kathiawar). According to him, it lay between Multān and Anhilwāra (Patan), at a distance of 16 *yojanas* from the latter place (*India*, I, p. 153). Reckoning that 16 *yojanas* = 136.3 geographical miles (1 *yojana* = 8 Arabian miles; 1 Arabian mile = 6,474 ft; 1 geographical mile = 6,080 ft.), the town would lie over 136 miles north of Patan. The town of Bhinmal is about 82 miles north of Patan, and there is another town, Barmer, about 135 miles north-east of Patan. It seems, however, to be more appropriate to identify our author's Māmuhul with Bīrūnī's Bhillamāla (Bhinmal). Idrīsī's مامهل or I. Ḥauqal's قامهل seems to be a corruption of بلهمال or بهلمال. Bhinmal is 'in the Jaswantpura district of the State of Jodhpur,

Rājputāna, situated in 25° N. and 76° 16 E., about 105 miles south-west of Jodhpur city. The place was the old capital of the Gūjars between the sixth and the ninth centuries, but very few traces now remain'. (*I.G.I.*, vol. VIII, p. 111, Oxford, 1908, new edition. 76° 16° E. should read 72° 10' E.).

MANĪBĀR. This is the Malabar coast. Cf. Abu'l-Fidā: *Manībār* (Text, pp. 353-4). See also *Islands*, Malay.

MANJĀBRĪ. Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 323: Manjābrī; Iṣṭ., p. 175: منحاترى Manḥātrā. Both these authors say that it lay to the west of the Indus, opposite to Manṣūra, and that anyone coming from Daybul and bound for Manṣūra crosses here. *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 122, mentions it as being situated on the bank of the river Mihrān. Idrisī's information that Manjābrī was two *marḥalas* from Daybul, and that it was situated on the road going from Daybul to Fīrbūz (Tr. p. 45, § 31) agrees with the information given by I. Ḥauqal (p. 327).

Elliot says that this town has been supposed to be the Minnagara of the ancients, but he does not agree with Vincent, who thinks that the Minnagara of Ptolemy, and of the Periplus usually ascribed to Arrian, is the Manjābrī of the Arab geographers (Elliot, I, pp. 391, 392-3). Hodīvālā (*I.M.H.*, pp. 36 8) identifies it with Bhanbor, which is said to have been known as Mansāwār or Manhāra. It lies on the Gharo channel, about 12 miles north-west of Lārry Bandar. He supposes that the origin of this name was from the Sanskrit 'Brāhmanwāra', and that the real name of this town was probably 'Bānhābāri' i.e. Bahmanbārī.

MANṢŪRA (Variant: Cl. II, s. 7, § 1m: المنصورية -- المنصورية). 'The ruins of Manṣūra lie 47 miles to the north-east of Ḥaydarābād' (Sind) (*Ḥ.'A.*, p. 372). See Bāmiramān above. According to Idrīsī, the distance between Manṣūra and Tūrān is 1070 miles (Tr. p. 54, § 84); according to I. Ḥauqal, p. 326: about 15 days' journey; according to I. Khur., p. 56, from the first limits of the province of Makrān to Manṣūra: 358 *farsakhs* (about 1074 miles).

MARBAṬ. In *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 'Mirbāṭ' is placed at a distance of about five *farsakhs* from Ẓifar'. Qazwīnī, *'Āthār*, p. 40, places it between Ḥaḍramaut and 'Umān, and mentions it as the port

of Ẓafār. Sprenger is of the opinion that the city itself was in the eastern part of the plain in which Ẓafār was situated. Captain Haines, in his report on the survey of the Ḥaḍramaut coast in 1843-44, mentions Merbat and Dhafār as great centres for the export of frankincense (Yule, II, pp. 445-7).

MARQĀYĀ. See *Islands*, Sarandib.

MĀSAKĀN. Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 325; Iṣṭ., p. 177. Hodīvālā (*I.M.H.*, p. 63) thinks that Māsakān may be identified with Mashkēl. 'Iṣṭ. distinguishes Mas͟hkay (a district stretching for 3 *marḥalas* and possessing some palms) from Māsakān (belonging to the Khārijites and producing some sugar-candy)', Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 373; Idrīsī places Māsakān in the neighbourhood of Ṭuērān (Tr. p. 47, § 43) and Mas͟hkay in the region of Kirmān. Mas͟hkay is identified with Mashkēl (see below); Māsakān should, therefore, be sought for somewhere in the region of Ṭuērān.

*MAS͟HKAY (spelt: مسكى, T. Cl. II, s. 7, §§ 34h, 44a). Idrīsī's spelling مسكى has been changed to *Mas͟hkay*; cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 319, 325; Iṣṭ., pp. 171, 177-8; I. Ḥauqal, ed. de Goeje, p. 226. According to Minorsky (*Ḥ.'A.*, p. 373), مشكى of *Ḥ.'A.* hardly corresponds to the Mashkai river, and as, according to Iṣṭ., it lay near to Kirmān (cf. Idrīsī, Tr. p. 47 § 44), it may be more likely identified with the important district of Mashkēl (also Mashkēdh).

AL-MAṢṢĪṢA. It lies on the Nahr Jayḥān (the river Pyramus), to the east of Adana (Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 130).

*MASTANJ. In Idrīsī there are various readings of this name (T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 52a), but they have been replaced by the present one after I. Ḥauqal, p. 327. Both I. Ḥauqal and Iṣṭ., p. 179, describe it as being at a distance of 4 days' journey from Qandābīl; cf. Idrīsī: 3 *marḥalas* from the town of Ṭuērān. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*: *Mastanj*, a town in Sind. According to him the Persians pronounce it *Mastank*; from here up to Bust towards the east, it is seven days' journey, and up to Qandābīl four *marḥalas*. This town may be identified with the present Mastang, 55 miles north of Kalat.

MĀSŪRJĀN and DIRAK-YĀMŪNA (?) (Variant: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 82a: درك يامونه). Cf. I. Khur., p. 55: باسورجان and باموية درك. The distances as given by I. K͟hur., p. 55, are: between 'Ṭābrān'

(Ṭuērān) belonging to Makrān and 'Bāsūrjān', 14 *farsakhs* (cf. Idrīsī: 42 miles, Tr. p. 53, § 80); between 'Bāsūrjān' and 'Dirak-Bāmwayh', 48 *farsakhs* (cf. Idrīsī, Tr. p. 54 § 81 : 141 miles); I. Khur. mentions four places between these two towns, then between 'Dirak-Bāmwayh' and 'Fannazbūr' (Panjgur), he gives 58 *farsakhs* (cf. Idrīsī, *ibid.* § 82: 175 miles) and mentions six places between the two.

Māsūrjān is perhaps Regān, lat. 28° 40′ N., long. 58° 58′ E., in the Narmāshīr province of Kirmān, and Dirak-Yāmūna may be Yakmina, lat. 28° N., long. 61° E., as shown in the *London Times Atlas* (*I.M.H.*, p. 65).

MASWĀM (*MASWĀHĪ?) (Variant: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 1y: سوام). Cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 319, 323: Maswāhī lay to the west of the Mihrān; I. Ḥauqal, ed. de Goeje, pp. 227, 230: مسواهى; Iṣṭ., pp. 172, 175: السواهى; Muqaddasī, pp. 53, 477: السواهى (مشواهى – مسراهى). This town is unidentified.

MĀS.W.YĀ (ماسويا?) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 85e: ماسوبا -- ماسوايا). The town is unidentified.

MAURYDAS (موريدس-*MAURYADEŚA?) (Variants: Cl. II, s. 8, § 3g: موربدس – سربدس; *ibid.*, § 59a: موربوس -- مربودس). Cf. Suhrāb, *'Ajā'ib*, p. 14: موربوس and مورِرس. He locates it 'on the sea'; I. Khur., p. 68: هورين (variant: مورى); Ibn Iyās: هُورَيْدَس; his description resembles that of Idrīsī. Ferrand, commenting on this name, says that the final syllable, namely "'das' = ssk. deça, pays" (*Relations*, p. 477). The first part as given by I. Khur.: مورى, given by de Goeje in the note, may stand for 'Maurya'. The name may, therefore, stand for 'Maurya + deśa', the land of Maurya; but this derivation, in the opinion of J. Ph. Vogel 'is rather fantastic'. The Maurya dynasty held Mālwa among their western provinces (*I.G.I.*, vol. XVII, p. 101). The mountain referred to by Idrīsī may be the Vindhya range, and this town may be sought for at a distance of three days' journey from Dhar (Tr. p. 66, §§ 59-60). Suhrāb places it 'on the sea', which may stand for the river Narbada.

M.ḤYĀK (محياك) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 1am: مجياط; *ibid.*, § 77a: محراك – محنناك). Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 319: مجاك (مجال?); Iṣṭ., p. 171: محالى; Muqaddasī, pp. 52, 476: محالى -- مخالى – مجالى. Idrīsī counts

it as one of the towns of Ṭuērān. Cf. *Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 123: 'M.hālī (?)'. It is unidentified.

MULTĀN. Most of the information on Multān is taken from I. Ḥauqal, pp. 321-2; cf. Iṣṭ., pp. 173-5. The word 'Multān' has no etymological relation with the name of the idol there, which was of the Sun-god 'Āditya', the *'Ayyūb'* of Balāḏhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 440. It shows that the reporters did not care to ascertain the origin of the name 'Multān', and merely attributed it to the idol there for the sake of convenience (Idrīsī, Tr. p. 49, § 55; I. Ḥauqal, p. 321; Iṣṭ., p. 174; *Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 89). Multān is the *Mālava* of the *Mahābhārata*, *Mālava* of the *Harshacharita*, and *Mallabhūmi* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*—the country of the Malli of Alexander's historians (Nandolal Dey, *I.A.*, 1923, p. 133). The earliest known mention of the name is made by Hsüan-Tsang, who visited Multān in 641 A.D. He calls it *Meu-Lo-San Pu-Lo* (= Mūlasthānipura) (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.* [1], p. 233, [2] pp. 268, 688).

Frontier-place of the House of Gold (Tr. p. 50, § 62). According to I. Ḥauqal, p. 322, Iṣṭ., p. 175, and Muqaddasī, p. 483, the reason why Multān was given this name was that in the early period of Islam, when Multān was conquered, there was a shortage (of wealth) and famine, and it so happened that they found large amounts of gold here, so they gave it this name. The *Chachnāma* relates that when Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim was planning to acquire money to be sent to the Caliph, a Brahman unexpectedly came to him and informed him of the presence of the treasure of gold in the temple. Forty jars of gold dust were weighed and the sum of 13,200 *manns* of gold acquired (Elliot, I, pp. 205-6). This means that each jar contained 330 *manns* of gold, i.e. about the weight of one *buhār* (333 *manns* as given by Idrīsī and I. Khur.). Cousens, *Ant. Sind*, p. 27, gives the total weight of gold contained in the jars as 1320 maunds (?). According to Balāḏhurī (*Futūḥ*, p. 440), the gold was accumulated in a house about 10 cubits by 8 cubits, and hence Multān was given this name. (Cf. *Fihrist*, pp. 346-7, and Qazwīnī, *'Āthār*, p. 62; both give a description of the house of gold on the authority of Abū Dulaf, Misʿar b. Muhalhil, but this seems to be of a legendary character.) Bīrūnī, ed. Togan, p. 72, says that all the wealth was contained in a locked and sealed house, 10 cubits by 8

cubits, and the entrance to it was from a window in the ceiling. Hence Multān was named 'frontier-place of gold' (ثغر الذهب), because it was, as it were, full of gold.

The fortress of Multān (Tr. p. 50, § 61). According to Cunningham's measurements, the circuit of Multān, including the city, the citadel and the unwalled suburbs, was from 4½ to 5 miles (*Ar. Sur. I.*, vol. V, p. 124). The ancient fortress of Multān is situated four miles from the left bank of the Chenab river. Originally it stood on an island in the Rāvī, which several centuries ago changed its course (*ibid.*, p. 114). Cunningham says that the four gates of the citadel as described by Idrīsī are still there (*ibid.*, p. 125).

MUNHA (spelt: منهه, *Mukha?* = mouth; in Hindi *muṅh*) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 1al: منهه – منه – مهبه; cf. Elliot, I, p. 77 n. 1: *Nodha*). Idrīsī does not give any information about this town. A *Manha* is shown on I. Ḥauqal's map, p. 316. In the opinion of Kramers (I. Ḥauqal, p. 318, n. to line 21), perhaps the correct form of this name is *Banī Battan*, mentioned by I. Ḥauqal in his text, p. 319. But this is very unlikely. Bīrūnī (*Ar. T.*, p. 102) mentions مُنْهِه الصغرى ثم الكبرى, translated by Sachau (*India*, I, p. 208) as 'the small Munha, the great Munha' (cf. Index to the *Ar. T.*: 'منهه mukha'). These places are described by Bīrūnī as near the territory of the *Bawārij*, i.e. the pirates of Cutch and Somnath. Bīrūnī, ed. Togan, p. 16, describes Lohrānī as corresponding to منهة الصغرى (Munha the small) on the mouth of the river Mihrān, and gives long. 94° 25′ and lat. 24° 40′, and mentions المنصورة (Manṣūra) as منهة الكبرى (Munha the great), giving long. 95° 0′ and lat. 26° 40′. Our author's Munha may, therefore, be tentatively identified with Bīrūnī's Munha the small, or Lohrānī, 36 miles from Daybul.

MURŪNA. See *Islands*, Sarandīb.

MYDRA (ميدرة) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 8, § 311: مبدرة – مهدرة). This town is mentioned only in the general list by Idrīsī, and is placed just before Kāramūt (Assam) (Tr. p. 58, § 3). The name resembles Mandal, a 'small land of the Qāmarūn kingdom. From it came the Mandali-aloes' (*Ḥ.'A.*, p. 87). The author of *Ḥ.'A.* places Mandal on the coast. In Minorsky's opinion this

Mandal should be sought in the neighbourhood of Assam (*ibid.*, p. 240).

NAHRWĀRA. This is Patan in the northern Baroda (*Ḥ.'A.*, p. 238).

NĪRŪN. Cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 319, 323: النيرون; Iṣṭ., pp. 172, 175: البيرون.

This town was probably situated on the site of the present-day Hyderabad (Sind). See Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 372.

N.JA (نجه ?) (Variant: T. Cl. II, s. 8, § 3l: نجه). It is only mentioned in the general list by our author, and cannot be identified.

N.YĀST (نياست ?) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 8, § 3j: نياست; *ibid.*, § 52b: ماست – تناست). According to Idrīsī's itinerary (Tr. p. 65, §§ 50-54), from Aṭrāsā (Karnāl, in the Punjab, see above) to N.yāst, it is 5 *marḥalas* (going from north to south), and from here to Mādyār (Mathura), 7 *marḥalas*, and from Mādyār to Nahrwāra (Patan) again, 7 *marḥalas*. According to Bīrūnī (*Ar. T.*, pp. 97, 99, 100), from Tānēshar (Thanesar) to Māhūra (Mathura), it is nearly 50 *farsakhs*, and from there (Mathura) to Anhilwāra (Patan) via Bazāna (?), 88 *farsakhs*. A comparison of the two itineraries shows that Idrīsī's N.yāst (or تناست, which may be a corruption of تانيشر) may correspond to Bīrūnī's Tānēshar. Thanesar is situated about 20 miles north of Karnāl in the Punjab (India).

QADĪRĀ. See Kūsha, above.

QALAMĀDHĪ. See *Islands*, Sarandīb.

QĀLĪRŪN (Variant: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 12o: فاليرون). The town is mentioned only in the general list by our author, and is unidentified.

QĀLLARĪ and B.THRĪ (*BULRĪ). Idrīsī seems to have confused the information pertaining to these towns (Tr. pp. 44-45, §§ 27-29). Although he does not mention Bulrī by that name, part of the information about Qāllarī seems to relate to Bulrī. The B.thrī mentioned in the general list must stand for Bulrī (see Tr. p. 40, § 1). The information in §§ 27, 28 (*ibid.*) should belong to Bulrī and not Qāllarī (cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 323; Iṣṭ., p. 175). The distance between Bulrī and Qāllarī as given by I. Ḥauqal, p. 327, is 4 *farsakhs*; cf. Iṣṭ., pp. 179-80: from Qāllarī to Bulrī, it is about 4 *farsakhs*. Bulrī lay to the west of the Indus near the branch which separates from it beyond Manṣūra (cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 323; Iṣṭ., p. 175). 'A Bulrī is shown on Cousens's map . . ., 40 miles

south of Ḥaydarābād' (Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 246). Qāllarī lay far to the east of the Indus on the road from Manṣūra to Multān (I. Ḥauqal, p. 323; Iṣṭ., p. 175). According to Iṣṭ., p. 179, the distance from Qāllarī to Manṣūra is one *marḥala* (according to our author, one *long marḥala* of 40 miles, Tr. p. 45, § 29). This places Qāllarī roughly 40 miles north of Manṣūra on the road to Multān and to the east of the Indus.

QANBALĪ. See Armābīl, above.

QANDĀBĪL. Now Gandāwa, 75 miles north-west of Khuzdar, north of the Indus (Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 373).

QANDAHĀR. This is *Ghandhār*, which stood in the eastern corner of the Gulf of Cambay (*Ḥ.'A.*, p. 245). Idrīsī's information that the people of Qandahār dress like the Turks and that they wage war against the king of Kābul (Tr. pp. 66, 67, §§ 62, 64) is rather strange, and its truth cannot be ascertained.

QĀQULĀ. According to Yule, quoted by McCrindle, Ptolemy's Kokkonagara 'is perhaps the Kâkula of Ibn Batuta, which was certainly a city on the Gulf of Siam, and probably an ancient foundation from Kalinga, called after Śrî-Kâkula there'. Again, Yule suggests Pegu for Kokkonagara (*McCrindle's A.I.*, pp. 235-6). Our author's Qāqulā resembles Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Qāqula (قاقلة Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, vol. IV, pp. 243-4), and both writers associate the town with silk. We may therefore tentatively identify Idrīsī's Qāqulā with Ptolemy's Kokkonagara. The distance between Pegu and Lung-Pien (Idrīsī's Lūqīn, q.v. above), south-east of Hanoi, far exceeds the 7 days' journey given by Idrīsī (Tr. p. 72, § 22). The discrepancy is reduced, but by no means eliminated, if we accept Berthelot's placing of Kokkonagara in Perak, in the vicinity of Kuala Kangsar (Berthelot, *L'Asie*, p. 404). Does it correspond to Dacca? (See Bihank, under *Rivers*).

QASHMĪR. *Inner and Outer*; *Lower and Upper*. Like Idrīsī, many writers have divided Kashmir into such divisions. Shahriyār b. Buzurg (*'Ajā'ib al-Hind*, p. 2) describes Upper and Lower Qashmīr, and the distance between Lower Qashmīr and Manṣūra is given as 70 days by land and 40 days by the river Indus (*ibid.*, pp. 103-4). According to I. Rusta, p. 89, the source of the river Ganges lay in the mountains above Inner Qashmīr (قشميرالداخلة).

Dimashqī also divides Qashmīr into Outer and Inner, separated by high mountains which have passes in them leading to China. The Outer part comprises more than seventy thousand villages and the Inner part, more than a hundred thousand villages (Mehren, Dimashqī, p. 246). Cf. al-'Umarī: *Lower Qashmīr* (ed. Zakī Pasha, p. 84). Bīrūnī, *Ar. T.*, p. 56, uses the term 'in the interior of Kashmīr', translated by Sachau as 'in Inner Kashmir' (*India*, I, p. 117). "The term 'Inner' Kashmīr can be traced up to the *Bundahishn*, where *Kashmir-c andarōn* is mentioned" (Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 254).

The term 'Inner Qashmīr' seems to have been used by these writers for the Kashmir Valley. The 'town of Qashmīr' should correspond to Addishtān < Ssk. Adhiṣṭhāna ,'the residence', the capital of Kashmir mentioned by Bīrūnī (*India*, I, p. 207), which stands for Srinagar (cf. Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 254). By 'Outer Qashmīr', the regions to the south, south-east and west of Kashmir are probably meant. Then, the 'town of Outer Qashmīr', which Idrīsī does not mention by name, seems to be different from the 'town of Inner Qashmīr'. It is difficult to identify this town. Does it correspond to Bīrūnī's Rājāwarī, 'the furthest place to which our merchants trade, and beyond which they never pass' (*India*, I, p. 208)?

The terms *Upper Qashmīr* and *Lower Qashmīr* may refer to the northern and the southern regions of the Kashmir Valley itself, the dividing line being the Kishen Ganga river. On the origin of the name Qashmīr, see Nandolal Dey, *I.A.*, 1922, pp. 95-6; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, pp. 61 sqq.

*QAṢR QAND. It is situated north of Chahbār, Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 373; cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 330: north of Tīz, still of some importance.

QAṬĪGHŌRĀ. Kattigara of Ptolemy, identified with 'Kian-Chi in Tong-King' by Richthofen (*McCrindle's A.I.*, pp. 9-11, n. 7). Cf. Ferrand, *Relations*, p. 198, n. 8: 'C'est sans doute la Καττίγαρα ὅρμος Σινῶν de Ptolémée, identifiée par Richthofen avec les environs de la moderne Hanoï'. Ptolemy seems to be the main source of Idrīsī's information on the towns described by him in this region (Tr. pp. 72-73, §§ 18-28).

QINNAUJ. This is Kanauj (< Kanyakubja), situated on the west

bank of the Kālinadī, about six miles above its confluence with the Ganges in the Farrukhābād district, U.P. (Nandolal Dey, *I.A.*, 1922, p. 88).

*QUZDĀR. This is 'Khuzdar, 85 miles south of Kalāt' (*Ḥ.'A.*, p. 373); cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, pp. 331-2. *Kushdān* (T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 77; variants: *ibid.*, § 77e: کشران – کسران) seems to be a dittography for Quzdār; cf. *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 123: Qusdār (spelt: *Qusdhān*). Again, Qaṣrān (T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 43) seems to be a mutilation of Quṣdār (< Quzdār); cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 319, 324, 326, 327; Iṣṭ., pp. 176-7, 178-9. See also Kirkāyān above.

AL-RĀHŪN and KULWĀN. Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 324: الزاموق وكلوان; Iṣṭ., p. 176: الراهوق وكلوان. The two districts of Rāhūn and Kulwān are now called Dashtak and Kolwah. Kolwah lies to the south of the river Lob, and is in lat. 26° 0 N., long. 64° 0′ E. (Hodīvālā, *I.M.H.*, p. 36).

RĀSK. According to Minorsky, 'Rāsk lies on the middle course of the Sarbāz river, but the original Rāsk lay probably more to the north on the site of the town of Sarbāz' (*Ḥ.'A.*, p. 373); cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 330.

RASNĀND }
RASTĀND } see Asnān.d, above.

AL-RŌR. The ruins of al-Rūr (Arūr, Alor), the ancient capital of Sind, are situated near Rohri (Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 246): cf. *T.S.*, p. 263.

SADŪSĀN. See Sharūsān, below.

SAMUNDAR. Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 241: Samundar < Samudra (north of Ganjam, south of the Rio de Paluro = Baruva, *Mohīṭ*, Map I). The estuary on which Samundar was situated (Tr. p. 64, § 42) may be the mouth of the river Mahanadi. Nainar identifies Idrīsī's Kanja (see above) with Conjeevaram. This would give Samundar a much more southerly position, and would place it in the neighbourhood of Madras. According to Bīrūnī, ed. Togan, p. 128, the choicest aloes-wood was *Indian*, called Samandarūk (سمندروك). See Samundar, under *Islands*.

SANDŪNĀ. See *Islands*, Sarandib.

SANDŪRĀ. See *Islands*, Sarandib.

ṢAYMŪR/SAYMŪR. From Idrīsī's description of this town, it seems

that two different towns having the same name are described by him. Ṣaymūr (Tr. p. 56, § 101) stands for *Chaymūr, modern Chaul in the Kolaba district of Bombay (see Minorsky, *Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 245). The second one (Tr. p. 58, § 5) seems to be a different town. As Idrīsī refers to it as being two days' journey from Broach, it should be looked for in that region. Altekar (*I.A.*, vol. LIV, 1925, p. 45) mentions an ancient town in Kathiawar called Simhapura, which is the same as modern Sīhor, 18 miles due south of Bhavanagar and 25 miles west of Hāthab. Simhapura, through Simhūr, has become Sīhor. The site of the old city is half a mile away from the modern village. This place seems to be the second Ṣaymūr of Idrīsī.

SHARŪSĀN/SADŪSĀN (*SADŪSTĀN). (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 1ah: اشروسان; *ibid.*, § 11k: سروسان – شورسان; *ibid.*, § 18c: شدوسان).

Cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 319, 327: سدوستان; Iṣṭ., pp. 172, 179: سدوسان. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, III, pp. 102-3, 107: *Sīva-stān*; Bīrūnī, ed. Togan, p. 29: 'Sadūsān is Sīvastān, long. 94° 50′ and lat. 28° 10′.' Sadūstān < Saindhu-sthān, ssk. name of the country, Sindhu, or that of its inhabitants Saindhava, or Saindhu, see Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*[1], p. 266, [2] p. 305. Sadūsān lay to the west of Manjābrī, perhaps between Sahban (now Sahwan) and the Indus (*Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 372), while Cunningham identifies it with modern Sehwān (*Anc. Geog.*[1], p. 263, sqq., [2] p. 302, sqq.).

SINDĀBŪR. Idrīsī has confused the positions and the distances of Thana and Broach. In fact, if the starting point of his itinerary is Broach, then Thana should be mentioned before Sindābūr, and it would be more correct to say that from Barūj (Broach) to Thana, it is four days' journey. This confusion in Idrīsī has already been pointed out by several authorities (see Hodīvālā, *I.M.H.*, p. 69). Nainar identifies Sindābūr with either *Siddhāpūr* (or *Shiddāpūr*) or Shadāshivagad (Nainar, pp. 74-75). According to Hodīvālā, Idrīsī has mixed up Sindābūr with Sindān (*I.M.H.*, p. 69). See under *Islands*, *Ballīn.

SINDĀN. This, the '*Sanjam* of Portuguese maps and *St. John* of English ones, lay south of Daman in the Thana district of Bombay' (Minorsky, *Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 245); Hodīvālā, *I.M.H.*, p. 69 = Sanjān, 50 miles north of Thana.

SINDŪR (*SIND-RŪDH). According to Idrīsī, this town was situated at a distance of three days' journey south of Multān, and lay along a river flowing into the river Mihrān (Indus) (Tr. pp. 51-52, §§ 67, 68), after Multān and before B.SM.D. I. Ḥauqal, p. 328, mentions the river Sind-rūdh at a distance of about three days' journey from Multān. The river described by Idrīsī must be the same as Sind-rūdh (cf. map of Sind by I. Ḥauqal, river 'Sindrūr' flowing into the river Mihrān, p. 316). In his general list, I. Ḥauqal, p. 319, mentions the town of Sind-rūdh, and counts it as one of the towns of India. Cf. Idrīsī (Tr. p. 54, § 87). Idrīsī's Sindūr is most probably the Sind-rūdh of I. Ḥauqal. Raverty, *Mihrān*, p. 224, places Sindūr somewhere about Nohar or Islāmkot, near the banks of the Hakṛā river, or farther north, a calculation based on the fact that the name occurs on a map of about A.D. 1700, between Ruhrī and Multān (*ibid.*, plate IV). But Nohar is over 200 miles south-east of Multān, and the distance far exceeds that given by Arab geographers. A *Sandur* is shown on the river Caid or Chaul, 75 miles south-east of Multān, on the map of India by T. Kitchin in Millar, *op. cit.*; the town may therefore be placed on a modern map between Khairpur and Toba Gargaji, north of the dry bed of the Ghaggar and east of Bahawalpur.

ṢINJĪ. Cf. I. Khur., p. 63: *al-Sinjilī*. Yule identifies 'Shinklī' of Abu 'l-Fidā and Dimashqī with Cranganore. While agreeing with this identification, Nainar, pp. 76-77. points out that the distance given by I. Khur. as one day to 'Sinjlī' and 'Kabashkān' from Bābattan (Baliapatam) and by Idrīsī as two days to Ṣinjī and Klk.sār from Jirbāttan (near Cannanore) seems to be very short. However, in the light of Dimashqī's information, which is corroborated by non-Arab sources, that the inhabitants of this town were Jews, he concludes that 'Shinklī' is Cranganore. Then, the differences in the distances and the variations of the readings of the name as given by a few Arab writers may, in his opinion, be put aside as mistakes. See also Otto Spies, *Qalq.*, p. 37, n. 4: 'The city and port of Cranganore was known as *Singuyli*, *Cyngilin*, *Cynkali* (= Shinkali) to the European travellers'. Though the evidence and the arguments in favour of this identification are convincing, it cannot be accepted as final, for otherwise it

would be difficult to explain the itineraries of this region as a whole as given by I. Khur. and Idrīsī. I. Khur, p. 63, starts his itinerary from Ballīn, from where the different sea-routes bifurcated. He says that going along the coast from Ballīn to 'Bābattan' (Idrīsī: Jirbāttan) it is two days' journey (Idrīsī: from Ceylon less than half a *majrā*, see Jirbāttan above); then from 'Bābattan' to 'al-Sinjilī' and 'Kabashkān' is a distance of one day's journey (two days in Elliot's translation, I, p. 16), and from these towns to the mouth of the Kūdāfarīd, 3 *farsakhs* (9 miles). All evidence suggests that Ballīn lay on the south-east coast of India, near Ceylon. The above towns mentioned by I. Khur. and Idrīsī should lie to the north of it along the eastern coast of the peninsula. Minorsky's suggestion that Idrīsī's Jirbāttan lay to the south of the Coromandal coast seems to be correct, as this would place Ṣinjī and Kūdāfarīd to the north of it. Kūdāfarīd should be identified with the mouth of the Godāvarī. A 'Gingee' is shown on the map of India by T. Kitchin, *op.cit.* about 45 miles (inland) to the north-east of Pondicherry. But J. Ph. Vogel has pointed out to me by letter that since Ṣinjī is a coastal town, it cannot be identified with Gingi (Gingee). Nainar places Jirbāttan, Ṣinjī and Kūdāfarīd on the west coast of the peninsula, which raises many difficult problems, the most important being: where would Ballīn be placed in this case? Should it be placed on the west coast of the peninsula? See *Ballīn, under *Islands*, and see the table on p. 105.

SŪBĀRA. Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 327: about 4 days' journey from Kanbāya and about ½ *farsakh* from the coast; cf. Bīrūnī, ed. Togan, p. 13: سوفاره; *ibid.*, Ar. T., p. 102: سوباره, about 21 miles from Sindān and about 18 miles from Thana. This is Sopārā (Souppara in the Periplus), near Bassein, in the Thana district of Bombay. See *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 245. There is a Sopala near Surat (Heyd, vol. I, pp. 29-34), but it is very unlikely that Idrīsī's Sūbāra is the same as this town.

SUFĀLA (SOFĀLA). This lies in the southern part of Portuguese Mozambique, south of Beira. See Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 472.

SŪRA. Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 319, n. to l.4: Shūra; cf. I. Ḥauqal, ed. de Goeje, p. 226. This is Shora-rūd, 'the name of the lower course of the Kalāt-river (off Quetta)', see Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 373.

Itineraries given by I. Khur., pp. 63-64 and Idrīsī, Cl. II, s. 8, §§ 38-41:

I. Khur.	Idrīsī	Identification
1. بلّين to	*بلين (mentioned separately).	1. In the neighbourhood of the Tanjore district along the coast.
2. بابتّن 2 days. to	جرباتن (from Ceylon less than 1/2 majrā). to	2. Minorsky: south of the Coromandal coast. Nainar: Jirbāttan = Srikandapuram; Bābattan = Baliapatam.
3 السنجلى } 1 day & (Elliot, I, p. 16: 2 days). 4. كبشكان to	صنجى & } 2 days or 1 day كلكسار ↑	3. Yule: Cranganore. 4. Pillay and McCrindle: Cahlacory.
5. مصب 3 *farsakhs* كودافريد ←···· to	Not mentioned (منهما – منها) to	5. Minorsky: River Godāvarī. Nainar: Aḷimukam, name of the mouth of the river Periyar.
6. كيلكان } 7. اللّوا } 2 days. & 8. كنجه to	كلكيان 1 day to اللولوا & } 2 days. كنجه to	6. Minorsky: Portugese Calingam? 6 & 7. Nainar. Inland towns between Kūdāfarīd (Aḷimukam near Cranganore) and Conjeevaram. 8. Minorsky: Ganjam. Nainar: Conjeevaram, near Madras.
9. كنار 10 *farsakhs*	كندر 30 miles	9. Minorsky: north of Ganjam; according to Nainar, it would lie near Conjeevaram?

AL-ṬĀFIN (*ṬĀQIN or ṬĀQĪ). Cf. I. Khur., p. 67: Ṭāfin. This is the country of *Ṭakka-deśa*, or *Ṭakka-viṣaya* mentioned in the *Rājata-*

rangiṇī. Hsüan-Tsang calls it Tseh-kia, and describes it as bordering in the east on the Vipāsa (Biās) and in the west on the Indus. He says that its capital lay about 15 li (= 8.6 kilometres) to the north-east of Shê-kie-lo (Śākala, Sialkot). For further information, see Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 249. Cf. also *Akhbār al-Ṣīn, Notes*, p. 52, § 27.

TĀNA. This is Thana < Śrī-sthānaka. See Nandolal Dey, *I.A.*, 1925, p. 193. It is situated on the western shore of the Salsette Creek, 21 miles north-east of Bombay city (*I.G.I.*, vol. XXIII, p. 303).

The mountains of Tāna. Along the centre of the Salsette Island, from north to south, runs a broad range of hills. The central and highest, Thana peak, is 1,530 feet above sea-level (*I.G.I.*, vol. XXI, p. 411). Ibn Mājid, f. 60b, speaks of these mountains, and mentions the Island of *Faylā Tāna* (= Salsette ?). The forests of Thana district produce, among other things, timber, fire-wood, charcoal and bamboo (*I.G.I.*, vol. XXIII, p. 297).

ṬARĪGHYŪQIN (spelt: طريغيوقن – *طريغلوفن ?) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 9, § 18a: طواغيرمن – طراغيرمن; *ibid.*, § 28c: طريغيومن – طريقومن). Cf. al-Khwārizmī, *Sūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 7: طريملوفن (*طريغلوفن ?). It may be identified with *Triglypton* or *Trilingon* of Ptolemy. Yule places Trilingon on the left bank of the Brahmaputra, identifying it with Tripura (Tippera), a town in the district of the same name, 48 miles E.S.E. of Dacca. For a fuller discussion, see *McCrindle's A.I.*, pp. 231-4. Tippera is the Comilla of modern maps.

TATA (تة ?) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 8, § 3i: ثبه – تبه – تيه; *ibid.*, § 56b: تة – ثنه – تقه; *ibid.*, § 57a: ثيه – نه). It is counted by Idrīsī as a part of Mālwa, 2 *marḥalas* from Dhar. It is unidentified.

TĪZ. This is situated in the bay of Chahbār, a short distance to the west of Chahbār village (*Ḥ.'A.*, p. 373).

ṬUḤRĀN. This corresponds to the region around Khuzdār in the eastern part of the Kalāt state of Baluchistan.

TYBRY. See *Islands*, Sarandīb.

ŪRĪSĪN. See under *Islands*.

UṢQUFA. This is Iskaf, now Ispaka, south of Bampūr (*Ḥ.'A.*, p. 373).

W.NDĀN (?) (Variants: Cl. II, s. 7, § 1n: وبدان – زان – رندان; Jaubert,

I, p. 160: راناندان). Cf. I. Khur., p. 56: ساوندرى. See Hodîvâlâ, *I.M.H.*, p. 14. The map of Persia by T. Kitchin (*o.c.*) shows a place called *Sipauend*, east of *Dizec* or *Rasec*, on the western tributary of the river *Kuren*, in long. 62° 25′ E. (from London) and lat. 29° 30′ (approximately) N. I. Khur.'s ساوندرى may be a corruption of سپاوند (?). According to al-Balādhurī's description (*Futūḥ*, p. 439), Sāwandrā (ساوندرى) lay between Brahman-ābādh (6 miles from Manṣūra) and al-Rōr (near Rohri).

*ZAWĪLA. See *Lamṭa, *etc.*, above.

2. MOUNTAINS

ALĀMRĪ (*AL-LĀMRĪ ?) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 8, § 82g: الاخرى – الامرى). The correct reading of Idrīsī's Alāmrī (or al-Amrī) may be al-Lāmrī, which stands for al-Rāmī (= Rāmnī, Sumatra). See al-Rāmī, under *Islands*. If we accept this identification, however, and place the mountain in Sumatra, the distance of 4 *majrās* between Ceylon and this mountain given by Idrīsī would be rather short to account for the actual distance. *Baqqam* is described by Idrīsī as a product of this mountain and again as a product of Rāmī Island (Tr. p. 31, § 38). Cf. Yule, *Marco Polo*, II, p. 380, n. 2: Ameri = Lameri, which refers to Lambri in Sumatra. This mountain may tentatively be placed in Sumatra, but its actual position cannot be ascertained.

KUSAYR AND 'UWAYR MTS. Cf. Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 7, § 13. Kusayr and 'Uwayr are two of the three small islands known to Europeans as 'les Coins'. The largest of them is situated 6¾ miles from Cape Musandum (Persian Gulf). From the largest to the next largest is two miles, and from the latter to the smallest is one mile (*Akhbār al-Ṣīn. Notes*, p. 42, n. 6).

LŪNYĀ (لونيا ?) (Variant: T. Cl. II, s. 8, § 47h. لونيا). Al-Khwārizmī, *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, pp. 40-41, mentions in the list of the mountains of the First Clime a mountain called ازرنا (variants: اجرنا – اذورا), the first limit of which lies in long. (نكز ل [نكز ؟]) 127° 30′ (74° 55′ from Greenwich) and lat. (يط ه [يط ؟]) 19° 0′; and the last limit of which lies in long. 130° 45′ (77° 5′ from Greenwich) and lat. (يه م [يه ؟]) 15° 40′; the colour of the mountain is described as yellow, and it lies in the northerly direction. This

mountain of al-Khwārizmī most probably corresponds to Mt. *Arouaia* of Ptolemy (beginning from long. 133°, lat. 18° and ending in long. 138° and lat. 16°) which is identified with the Western Ghats (*L'Asie*, p. 345, *ibid.*, Map, fig. 7). In spite of the difference of longitudes and latitudes given for this mountain by Ptolemy and al-Khwārizmī, whose tables are mainly based on Ptolemy's *Geography*, it seems probable that اورنا is the same as Arouaia, and that Idrīsī's Lūn.yā must be the same as اورنا of al-Khwārizmī. According to Idrīsī, the river M.slī passes by the foot of this mountain (Tr. p. 64-65 § 47). The variants in al-Khwārizmī, namely ادورا and اذورا, may stand for Vaidurya, the northern section of the Western Ghats, which are also shown as *Sahyadri* on modern maps. We may, therefore, tentatively identify Idrīsī's Mt. Lūn.yā with the middle section of the Western Ghats, where Berthelot puts the sources of the river Maisôlos (Kistna, according to Berthelot) of Ptolemy (see *L'Asie*, Map, fig. 7). See also M.slī, under *Rivers*.

*QĀMARŪN (< Qāmarūb = Kāmarūpa) (For variants, see T. Cl. II, s. 8, § 43e; *ibid.*, § 47f). Cf. Abu'l-Fidā, *Taqwīm*, pp. 21, 360: قامرون; *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 86; Bīrūnī, ed. Togan, p. 11. These are probably the ranges in Bhutan, north of the Goalpara and Kamrup districts of Assam.

AL-RUHŪN (Variant: T. Cl. I, s. 8, § 19d: الرهوق). The name appears in various forms in different writings. Cf. Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 4: الرهون; Suhrāb, pp. 84-5: الرهرى; al-Khwārizmī, *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 40: اهرد - الرهون; Rāzī, p. 29: دهيون. The nearest to the original form seems to be that given by Muqaddasī, p. 13: الرهُن. The name is derived from the Sanskrit *rohaṇa* 'ascent' (*Ḥ.'A.*, p. 194). The mountain is now known as Adam's Peak. Cf. *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 36, n. 5(5); *Abrégé*, p. 54, n. 2. According to Bīrūnī, ed. Togan, pp. 69-70, the جبل الراهون of *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik* (probably of al-Jayhānī, note by Togan) is probably the arabicized form of رونك (*Ronaka*).

According to Tennent, quoted by Yule, the veneration of this mountain probably arose among the aborigines of Ceylon, and in a later age, the hollow in the lofty rock was claimed by the Brahmans to be the foot-print of Śiva, by the Buddhists

that of Buddha, by the Gnostics that of Ieu, by the Mohammedans that of Adam, while the Portuguese authorities were divided between the conflicting claims of St. Thomas and the eunuch of Candace, Queen of Ethiopia (Yule, II, pp. 320-2, 328 and note). Cf. *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 36, n. 5(5). John Marignolli, who was in Ceylon about 1349, describes his experience of the view of the pinnacle of this mountain, which as a rule could rarely be seen because of the clouds. He "beheld it glowing with the brightest flame" (Yule, II, p. 321), probably the "permanent light" described by Idrīsī and other Arab writers. Ibn Mājid, f. 69b sqq., also refers to this "light", and says that travellers took guidance from it. But it is Bīrūnī (ed. Togan, pp. 69-70) who removes the religious and supernatural colouring given to this information. He says that this "lightning" has nothing to do with the natural "lightning" produced in the atmosphere. It is plain ordinary fire which continuously burns and flashes on the top of this mountain. It serves the purpose of a light-house in the same way as do the fire of the wood of Kaykawān near 'Abbādān and the one in the light-house of Alexandria. This "lightning" is not observable in the daytime except in the form of smoke. See under *Flora, fauna, etc.*, Rubies of Ceylon.

SALT MOUNTAIN. This is the Bāmpusht Koh in Makrān. See Dizak, under *Towns*.

THE SURROUNDING MOUNTAIN. The Surrounding Mountain in the extreme north of India probably corresponds to the eastern ranges of the Himalayas, or the Khasi and Jaintia Hills of Assam (See Bihank, under *Rivers*).

ŪNDIRAN (Spelt: اونـدرن = اونـديـون* < Greek *Ouindion*, i.e. the Vindhya Mountains) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 8, § 10: اوتدرن – اوبدرق). Cf. al-Khwārizmī, *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, pp. 48-9: اوبـدـون; Suhrāb, *'Ajā'ib*, pp. 94-5: اونـدـرن (اونـديـون*). They describe the soil of this mountain as 'rose-coloured', and its direction as northern. It is included in the list of the mountains of the Third Clime. According to al-Khwārizmī, the first limit of this mountain lies in long. 121° 40′ (= 71° 1′ 40″ from Greenwich) and lat. 27° (كر = كز*) 0′; and the last limit lies in long. 129° (قكط* = مكمط) 0′ (= 75° 55′ from Greenwich) and lat. 26° 45′. According to Ptolemy, Mt. Ouindion spreads between long. 127° (= 74° 40′ from

Greenwich) and lat. 27° and long. 135° (= 80° 0′ from Greenwich) and lat. 27°. The actual position of these mountains is in lat. 23° N. and long. 76° E. See Berthelot, *L'Asie*, pp. 292, 340.

3. DESERTS AND ARID ZONES

THE DESERT OF MULTĀN. This desert (Tr. p. 52, § 69), according to Raverty, *Mihrān*, p. 224, seems to correspond to the southern part of the great, elevated plateau which extends from a few miles east of the Indus to the high left bank of the Biās river, and which is intersected by the rivers forming the Punjab.

THE DESERT EXTENDING BETWEEN MĀMUHUL, KANBĀYA, DAYBUL AND BĀNIYA. This desert (Tr. pp. 43-44, § 21 and p. 54, § 88) corresponds to the region south-west of the Thar Desert, stretching between Karachi and Cambay and including the Great and the Little Rann of Cutch.

THE DESERT BETWEEN THE TOWNS OF ṬUĒRĀN AND MANṢŪRA AND FROM ṬUĒRĀN NORTHWARDS UP TO SIJISTĀN. This desert (Tr. p. 53, § 78) corresponds to the regions along the Kithar Range, west of the Indus, and the Helmand Desert.

4. RIVERS

BIHANK (spelt: بهنك; variants: T. Cl. II, s. 9, § 26b: نهنك -- بهمك). If the location of Aṭrāghā (see under *Towns and Regions*) in Indo-China be accepted as correct, then this river would correspond to the Song-koi (Red River) in the Tong-king province of Indo-China. On the other hand, if Ṭarīghyūqin (see under *Towns and Regions*) stands for Tippera (Comilla, E. Pakistan), then the Bihank would correspond to the river Meghna, joining the river Padma about 40 miles south-west of Comilla and flowing into the Bay of Bengal. According to Idrīsī's description, (Tr. p. 73, § 28), the river Bihank, rising in the *Surrounding Mountain* in the extreme north of India (in this case it would be the Khasi and the Jaintia Hills of Assam?) passes to the eastern side of the town of Aṭrāghā, then to the place of the confluence with the river of Qāqulā, and falls into the sea at the town of Ṭarīghyūqin. Aṭrāghā should then be located in the Mymensingh or the Sylhet district of E. Pakistan and Qāqulā

would correspond to Dacca. Again, Lūqīn should then be located somewhere along the coast adjacent to the mouth of the river Hooghly.

MIHRĀN. This is the lower course of the river Indus, called by the Arab geographers Mihrān. The branching of the river into two courses is shown on I. Ḥauqal's map, p. 316. Mas'ūdī gives a good description of the two branches. According to him, the river is called Mihrān when, flowing down from the north, it reaches the town of Rōr. Then it divides into two branches, which reunite at Shākira (Mīrpur Sākra, see Daybul, under *Towns*), and from there the river flows on into the sea (*Murūj*, I, pp. 377-8). Cf. I. Ḥauqal pp. 320, 323, 328 and Iṣṭ. pp. 173, 175, 180. Idrīsī's description seems to be based on his own map (*Map. Arab.*, I. Band, 2. Heft, Plate II). The "main branch" of the Mihrān, which Idrīsī and other Arab geographers describe as skirting round Manṣūra, does not exist any longer. The bulk of the water flows through the other branch, far to the west of Manṣūra.

M.SLĪ (مسل ?) (Variant: T. Cl. II, s. 8, § 47b: ميل). Ptolemy mentions a river *Maisôlos*, the mouth of which is at long. 134° (= 79° 15′ from Greenwich) and lat. 11° 40′, and the region *Maisôlia* watered by this river in the lower part of its course (*McCrindle's A.I.*, p. 66). According to McCrindle, there is a difference of opinion about the identification of this river. Some earlier authorities take the *Maisôlos* to be the Kistna river, but Lassen and the later writers identify it with the Godāvarī. The source of the river, according to Ptolemy, lies in the Oroudian (or Arouedan) mountains, the Vaidûrya mountains, which constitute the northern section of the Western Ghats, in long. 134° 30′ and lat. 17° 30′ (*ibid.*, pp. 78, 81, and 103). Berthelot, *L'Asie*, pp. 333, 345, identifies the mouth of the river (long. 134° and lat. 11° 30′) with Port Divi (on the Kistna), and says that the old name of this river is preserved in the name of the city of Masulipatam. In the map of India by T. Kitchin in Millar, *op.cit.*, "Musi" is mentioned as another name for the Godāvarī. According to Idrīsī, the M.slī passes by the foot of Mt. Lūn.yā (tentatively identified with the middle section of the Western Ghats, see under *Mountains*). The sources of the Kistna lie in these ranges.

Whether the M.slī is to be identified with the Godāvarī or with the Kistna, Idrīsī's statement that it rises in the Qāmarūn mountains (in Assam!) seems to have no basis, and there seems to be some confusion in his original source, the *Kitāb al-'Ajā'ib*, from which he took this information.

(THE RIVER OF) MULTĀN. This probably refers to a small branch of the river Rāvī. Cunningham says that from Idrīsī's description of it as a little river, it seems probable that the change in the course of the main stream of the Rāvī had already taken place, and that a small branch of it then reached Multān (*Anc. Geog.*[1] p. 240, [2] p. 276; on the change of course of the Rāvī, see *ibid.*[1] p. 230, [2] p. 264).

5. SEAS AND GULFS

AL-'AGHBĀB. Cf. I. Khur., p. 67; *Marvazī*, T., p. 34. Arab geographers speak of al-'Aghbāb as a region lying opposite to Ceylon. Al-'Aghbāb (or the Gulfs) lay in the extreme south of India, although its exact location is as yet unidentified. See Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 243; *Marvazī*, pp. 145, 151. According to Ferrand, *Voyage*, p. 119, this region lay in the Gulf of Manar and the Strait of Palk; cf. *'Ajā'ib al-Hind*, pp. 5, 114-5, 122, & n.p. 274. Explaining the difference between a *ghubb* and a *khaur*, Bīrūnī, ed. Togan, p. 71, says that *ghubb* is the spot where the sea enters the land, and boats avoid such a spot as the quantity of water is small. On the other hand, a *khaur* is the mouth of the (river) water flowing into the sea, when it widens at the place of its entrance (into the sea). Some people think that it is the reverse of a *ghubb*, and say that it is an arm (lit. neck) of land entering the sea, which is not the case. He uses the word *ghubb* for the Strait of Palk at another place: و يجيء غب عظيم وفيه سنكلديب (*Ar. T.*, p. 102). Bīrūnī's definition of a *khaur* corresponds to an estuary. Idrīsī explains *'aghbāb* by saying that they are *'ajwān* (اجوان) into which rivers flow (cf. *Description de l'Afrique*, Glossary, p. 281: جون is explained as "golfe"). Our author seems to have used the word *'aghbāb* in the sense of estuaries.

AL-AKHWĀR. Idrīsī's reference to the tall elephants of *al-Akhwār* that reach a height of 10 or 11 cubits indicates the same locality

as the one I. Rust., p. 134, calls *al-'Aghbāb*, in the southern part of India. See also *Ballīn, under *Islands*.

AL-DURDŪR. This is the Cape Musandum of modern maps. It is the extreme tip of Arabia at the entrance to the Persian Gulf in lat. 26° N., long. 56° E. Durdūr is described by Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 7, as a narrow passage between two mountains, which small boats sail through but which Chinese boats do not sail through. In it there are two mountains, called Kusayr and 'Uwayr (see under *Mountains*).

FĀRS, SEA OF. This is the Persian Gulf.

HARKAND (Variants: T. Cl. I, s. 10, § 2c: هرنكد – هسكند; *ibid.*, § 18b: هريكند). This is the Bay of Bengal. It is usually spelt *Harkand* by Arab geographers, but one of the readings in Idrīsī is *Harīka* (هريكة), which closely resembles *Harikela*, the name of Eastern Bengal (see Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 241).

*AL-LĀRWĪ (Variants: T. Cl. I, s. 10, § 2b: ارلادرى – ارلاردى – ارلاورى). Cf. Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 3: لاروى. This is the eastern section of the Arabian Sea along the western coast of India. It was called *Lārwī* after *Larissa*, the Greek name for Gujerat. The ancient name of Gujerat was Lār, perhaps from the original Ssk. *Lāṭa*, or Prakrit *Lāḍa*. Cf. Bīrūnī, Ar. T., p. 82: لاَرديش (Lāṭadeśa).

SALT SEA. This corresponds to the Bay of Bengal. The towns belonging to 'the land of Sufāla' (east coast of Africa) are also placed by our author on the shores of the Salt Sea! This may be explained by the fact that like Ptolemy, Idrīsī also conceived of a land (*terra incognita*) in the southern hemisphere south of the Indian Ocean. Hence, the east coast of Africa was stretched towards the east parallel to the Equator and joined with this land! Thus in the maps of Idrīsī, as in those of Ptolemy, the Indian Ocean resembles a lake, and all the towns of the east coast of Africa lie on the coast opposite to the Bay of Bengal.

ṢANF SEA. This is the name used by the Arab geographers for the sea of Indo-China. *Ṣanf* < *Champa*. The celebrated country of aloes was Champa, southern Annam. See Minorsky. *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 240.

'UMĀN, SEA OF. This is the Gulf of Oman.

6. ISLANDS

ANB.RIYA (انبرية) (Variants: T. Cl. I, s. 8, § 4d: ابونه – انبونه – انبوبه; *ibid.*, 8b: انبربه – انبره). Cf. Ferrand, *Relations de Voyages*, I, p. 177: 'Abūna'. He tentatively identifies it with Ptolemy's 'Αβράνα, in Arabic ابرنه, which, he says, closely resembles ابونه, but he is not certain which one of the two readings is more correct (*ibid.*, n. 3). Idrīsī's description of this island, namely, that it is the largest of the *Dībajāt* Islands, does not fit in with the middling size of Abarna (or Arana) as compared to the rest of the Maldives shown on Ptolemy's map of Ceylon (see Ptolemy, Stevenson, p. 159). However, preferring the reading in MS. Par. A., namely انبرية, we may suggest that this island is Ptolemy's "Irène (Eiréné) 120° long. 2° 30′ lat. S.", probably one of the Maldives (see *L'Asie*, p. 370).

BALĪKH/BALĪQ: See *Ballīn, below.

*BALLĪN (Variants: T. Cl. I, s. 8, § 29a: بلين – قلنق – بلبق; *ibid.*, Cl. II, s. 8, § 4b & c: يلغ – قلبح – مليح – بليق – بليخ; *ibid.*, § 29a: ملبق – يلبق. The reading بلين (*بلين?) corresponds to I. Khur.'s بلّين, p. 63. The description of this island corresponds to the information given by I. Khurradādhbih. Idrīsi says that it is at a distance of one day's journey from Ceylon and opposite to it are situated the Gulfs of Sarandīb (*'aghbāb*) (Tr. p. 29, § 29). Cf. I. Khur. p. 64: 1 day's distance from Ceylon. Again, the information given by Idrīsī in §§ 27-29 (Tr. p. 62) is as follows: opposite to the coastal town of Barūj (Broach) lies the island of Malay (Malabar, but more correctly Kūlam Malay = Quilon); from there (Malay) to 'the island' of Sindān (Sanjam or St. John, north of Bombay), it is two *majrās* (for "island" read "town" as given in MS. Poc.); and from this island (Malay) to the island of *Ballīn, it is two days' journey. Cf. I. Khur. pp. 62-63; I. Khur. places B.llīn at two days' distance to the south (or south-east) of Malay (Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 243). There is some inconsistency in the itinerary given by Idrīsī. Instead of giving distances from Barūj proceeding southwards, he first locates the position of the "island" of Malay opposite to Barūj, which is obviously wrong: here he is only describing his faulty map. The actual position bears no relation to his description. Then, taking Malay

(Quilon) as the starting-point, he gives the distance from it up to Sindān in the north as 2 *majrās* and then to *Ballīn towards the south-east as 2 days' journey. *Ballīn is described as a large island from which the sea-routes to the Indian islands (Sumatra, Java, etc.) bifurcate. Again, the distance from this island to the fathomless sea (the southern portion of the Bay of Bengal) is two days' journey, and from there to the island of Ceylon, over one *majrā*. His information that anyone going to China from here would keep the island of Sarandīb on his right (I. Khur. p. 66: to his left) places *Ballīn to the north of Ceylon (Tr. p. 32, § 41). All these facts show: 1. that this island should be identified with I. Khur.'s B.llīn; 2. that although the island remains as yet unidentified, the information provided by Idrīsī, I. Khur. and other Arab geographers suggests that it was located on the south-east coast of India, near Ceylon. The exact location of Ballīn (or Bullīn?) still remains undetermined. It seems to have been situated in the neighbourhood of the Tanjore District. Minorsky compares Idrīsī's اورشين (= Orissa, see Ūrisīn, below) with the various towns described by other Arab writers as lying in this southern-most region of India (Minorsky, *Ḥ.ʿA.*, pp. 243-4). It would be more appropriate to compare Idrīsī's *Ballīn with these towns. Like *Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 87, Idrīsī too distinguished between these two towns (*Ḥ.ʿA.*: Urshīn = Idrīsī's Ūrisīn; *Ḥ.ʿA.*: Ū.shfīn = Idrīsī's *Ballīn).

AL-BAYNIMĀN (*البينهان?) (Variants: T. Cl. I, s. 8, § 46a: البيهان – البيثمان; *ibid.*, § 3: البينماق). Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 4, gives النيان, which Sauvaget identified with "l'île Nias de nos cartes, sur la côte sud de Sumatra", (*ibid.*, *Notes*, p. 37), the name being derived from the Nias word *Niha*, Man. The description of this island given by Sulaymān resembles very closely that given by our author (Tr. p. 33, § 46). At the end of the description, where our author says "In this island there are many elephants", etc., Sulaymān, while giving the same information, also mentions the name of the island as *al-Rāmnī* (Sumatra), which shows that this piece of information pertains to Sumatra, and not to the island of Nias.

BLBQ. See *Ballīn, above.

DAYBUL. The island of Daybul probably corresponds to the delta of the Indus river; but it also represents the actual town of Daybul. For the town of Ksk.hār, see under *Towns and Regions*.

DĪBAJĀT (Variants: T. Cl. I., s. 8, § 4a: الديجات – الديبحات – الربيحات; *ibid.*, § 9a: الولحات; *ibid.*, § 11a: الربيحان; *ibid.*, § 17d: الذبيحات. Cf. Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 4: الديبجات. Dībajāt is a Persian plural form of the Sanskrit word *dvīpa* (= dīva or dīpa): cf. ميوه, pl. ميوجات. The word simply means islands, and was used by Arab geographers and travellers for the Laccadives, Maldives, etc. Cf. I. Baṭṭūṭa, IV, 110: ذيبة المهل; Ibn Mājid, f. 75b: الديبه. Various writers give various figures for the total number of these islands; Ptolemy gives 1378 islands around Ceylon (Ptolemy, Stevenson, p. 159); Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 3: 1900; *Akhbār al-Zamān*, p. 34: 13,700 (?); Muqaddasī, p. 13: 1700; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, IV, p. 111, gives the number as about 2,000 in all, and says that they are so close to one another that on leaving one island, the tops of the palm trees on another are visible. Our author, strangely enough, does not give any figures for these islands. He gives the distance between one island and another as six miles more or less (Tr. p. 26, § 12). Cf. Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 3: 2, 3 or 4 *farsakhs*; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 184: 2, 3 or more miles, and again, *ibid.*, p. 336: about a mile or a *farsakh*, or 2 or 3 *farsakhs*; Shahriyār b. Buzurg, *'Ajā'ib al-Hind*, p. 163: one *farsakh* or less. See *The Small Islands*, below.

As for the position of Ceylon in relation to the last of these islands (Tr. pp. 26-27, § 17). Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 4, Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, p. 338, and *Akhbār al-Zamān*, p. 23, say that the last of these islands is Sarandīb, and Sulaymān and *Akhbār al-Zamān* add that it is situated at the head of all these islands.

JĀLŪS (*BĀLŪS). Cf. I. Khur., p. 66: Bālūs. Its inhabitants are cannibals. It has fine camphor, bananas, coconuts, sugar-cane and rice. This is Barus, the port lying on the western coast of Sumatra (Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, pp. 57, 187).

KALA (كله). Cf. *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 57: *Kala*; I. Khur. p. 66: *Kila*, which, according to De Goeje, is probably Keda (Kra) in the Malay peninsula (Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 187). 'The name of tin in Arabic,

al-riṣaṣ al-qalʿī, or simply *qalʿī* (< *kali*), is a derivative from Kala' (Minorsky, *ibid.*). Cf. Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 8: كلاه بار (Kalāh-bār); *ibid.*, p. 9: كله بار (Kalah-bār). Sauvaget, *ibid.*, p. 43, § 15, prefers to identify Sulaymān's *Kalah* with "Kĕdah" on the western coast of the Malacca peninsula at lat. 6° N. He also mentions as other possible locations for the *Kalah* of Arab geographers: 1. Kra (preferred by Ferrand); 2. Kĕlang, to the north of the city of Malacca. The correct position has not yet been determined.

KĪSH. This island seems to correspond to Qays in the Persian Gulf, situated off the southern coast of the province of Fārs. Kīsh is the Persian form of Qays. In the course of the 6th century (12th century A.D.), it had become the trade centre of the Persian Gulf after the ruin of Sīrāf (Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 257). Hodīvālā (*I.M.H.*, p. 65) suggests that the island of Kīsh may actually be identified with Cutch. In this case, Idrīsī's information that the governors of India (or of the Mayd?) had built a fortress in the town of Cambay when it was under the domination of the master of the island of Kīsh (Tr. p. 55 § 92), would suggest that Cambay was at one time under the rule of the ruler of Cutch. However, the translation of Elliot and Hodīvālā, taken over from Jaubert, namely, 'to prevent the inroads of the inhabitants of the island of Kish' is faulty and probably based upon a wrong reading of the text.

KŪLAM MALAY. This is Quilon. See under *Towns and Regions*.

*LANKABĀLŪS/*LANJABĀLŪS (Variants: T. Cl. I, s. 8, § 42a: لنكياليوس – لنكيالوس; *ibid.*, § 42b: لنجياليوس – لنبيالوس; *ibid.*, § 48a: لنجيالينوس – النجياليوس – لنجياليوس; *ibid.*, § 48b: لنكياليوس). These are the Nicobar Islands. Cf. I. Khur., p. 66: النكبالوس; Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 5: لنجبالوس; Ibn al-Faqih, p. 12, calls the people of these islands لنج (Lanja), and Ibn Mājid, f. 55a, refers to them as ناج بارى (Nāja-bārī < Nanga = naked and vārī = belonging to the land of). According to Sauvaget, *Langabalus* is the Arabicized form of *Lang-po-lou-sseu*, which among the Chinese indicates the western part of Sumatra (*Akhbār al-Ṣīn*,

p. 38). The white-skinned population is also mentioned by I. Khur., p. 65; Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 8; *Marvazī*, Tr., p. 59; Qalq., p. 47. The main part of the population is believed to be of a race akin to the Malay (Yule, II, pp. 307, sqq.).

MALAY/MANĪBĀR. Idrīsī mentions that opposite to the town of Barūj (Broach) is situated the island of Malay, where pepper is found in abundance. Idrīsī has definitely made a mistake in the position of Malay (Malabar, or Quilon) in relation to Barūj, as the two are not so close to each other. The mistake arises from his map, which he describes, and in which Kūlam Malay (Quilon) is shown as a large island opposite the coast where Broach is situated. Manībār stands for Malabar (cf. Abu'l-Fidā, pp. 353-54. منيبار).

AL-MAYD/AL-MAND (?) (The various readings in Idrīsī are: T. Cl II, s. 7, § 2f: المند – الند; *ibid.*, § 86b: المند). Cf. I. Khur., p 62: الميْد, al-Khwārizmī, *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, pp. 6, 95: الميد; Suhrāb, *'Ajā'ib*, pp. 13, 74, and 156: الميد. Minorsky says that, according to Nallino, *Atti dei Lincei*, 1896, II/1, 39, the island which al-Khwārizmī calls "*al-Mydh*" or "*al-K.rl*" is meant to represent Gujerat (*Marvazī*, p. 64). In the map of India by T. Kitchin in Millar, *op. cit.*, there is a town "Mend" shown on the western bank of a river (the united waters of the two rivers 'Makeshid' and 'Nehenk', probably corresponding to the Desht river of Makrān on modern maps), at approximately long. 80° E. and lat. 26° N. The town is shown about 100 miles inland. From the description that our author has given, the island of al-Mand would lie six miles north of Oykman (see below). The port of Mandvi on the southern coast of Cutch lies about 25 miles north-east of Okhamandal, and there is another place further to the east on this coast called Mundra. Mandvi may be considered as one of the possible sites of our author's al-Mand. In the ninth century the Arabs had settled along the coast of Cutch (*I.G.I.*, Oxford, 1908, vol. IX, p. 78). Ptolemy's *Mandagara*, identified by McCrindle as "Mândlâ on the north bank of the Sautrî river, opposite Bankûṭ, and now known as Kolmândlâ and Bâg and Bagmândlâ" (*McCrindle's A.I.*, p. 47) (cf. Mandagora = Viziadrug, Berthelot, *L'Asie*, Map of southern

peninsula, fig. 12), lies too far south to fit in with the description of our author's al-Mand. If al-Khwārizmī's *'al-Mydh* or *al-K.rl'* is taken to correspond to Ptolemy's *Mandagara* and *Ariakê* (al-Khwārizmī's *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ* was an Arabic adaptation of Ptolemy's *Geography*), then Idrīsī's al-Mand or al-Maydh and Oykman (a variant: اريكين) resembling Ariakê should lie in Konkan. This does not seem to be probable, however. It does not agree with the distances given by Idrīsī. His islands should be sought along the coasts of Kathiawar and Cutch. These regions were infested with pirates at the time. Bīrūnī, ed. Togan, p. 72, refers to the "Maydh people, who were the pirates of al-Dhaybul (Daybul) and al-Bawārij, the masters of *beṛa*, which means 'boats' in their language". (بارجة, man-of-war, pl. بوارج). In his Tables, *ibid.*, p. 16, *al-Bawārij* is shown as the region which included in it "the Idol of Sōmanāt" along the coast, and "the fort of Bhillamāla" (see Māmuhul, under *Towns and Regions*). *Al-Bawārij* should, therefore, correspond to Kathiawar. Again, he refers to the dwellings of the pirates *al-Bawārij* as being in *Kach* (Cutch) and *Sōmanāt* (Somnath). From Bīrūnī's description, it is clear that these pirates spread between Daybul, Cutch, and Kathiawar, and even extended up to Bhinmal. See Oykman, below.

AL-M.SKHĀ (المسخا?) (Variant: T. Cl. II, s.8, § 4d: المسبحا). This island is difficult to identify, even the reading of the name not being certain. It is only mentioned by Idrīsī in his general list (Tr. p. 58, § 4) between Balīq (*Ballīn) and Samundar islands, and hence it must have lain somewhere along the Coromandal coast.

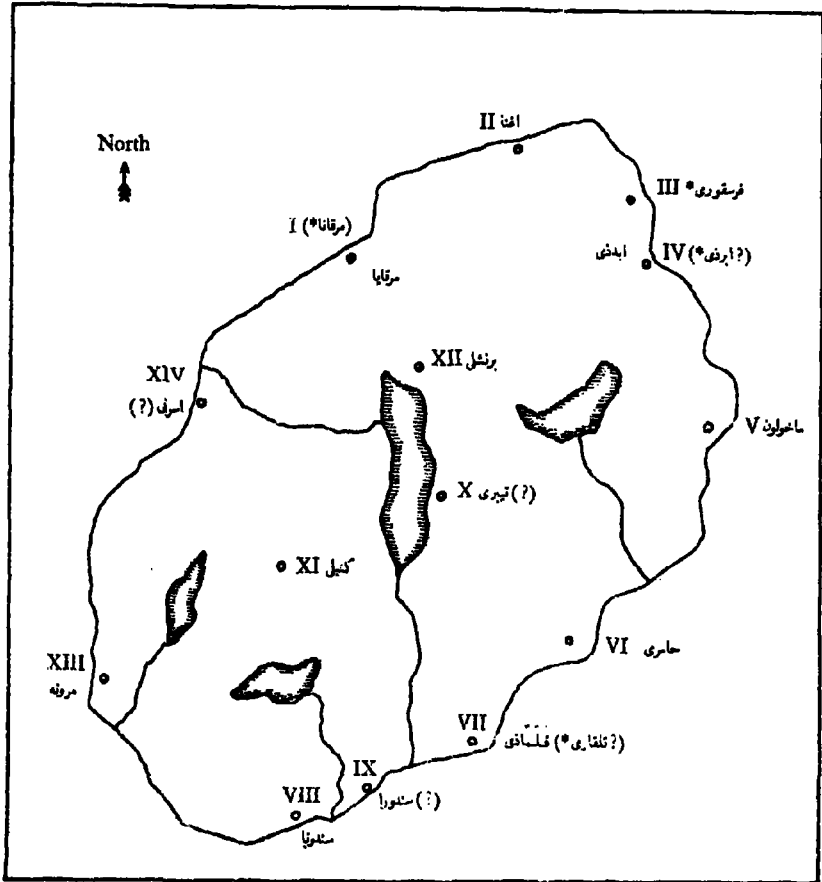
OYKMAN (spelt: اويكمن) (= Okhaman + dal < Okhamandal?) (Variants: Cl. II, s. 7, § 2e: اوبكين - اربكين - اوبكن; *ibid.*, § 86a: اريكمن; *ibid.*, § 94a: اوبكيش - اوبليش). Cf. I. Khur., p. 62: اوتكين According to him, (p. 62), the distance from Daybul to the mouth of the Mihrān is 2 *farsakhs* (6 miles), and from the Mihrān to Ūt.kīn, it is 4 days' journey, and from Ūt.kīn to al-Mayd, 2 *farsakhs*. According to Idrīsī, from Oykman to the island of Daybul (the town of Daybul) it is 2 *majrās* (Tr. p. 55, § 94); again, from Cambay to Oykman, it is 1½ *majrās* (*ibid.*, § 93) and from al-Mayd to Oykman, six miles (*ibid.*, § 95). Oykman

is described by I. Khur. and our author as marking the first limits of Indian territory. The distances given by Idrīsī and I. Khur. indicate that this island was located along the north-western coast of the Kathiawar peninsula. The suggestion made by Nainar, p. 84, that this island "may be somewhere in the Gulf of Cambay", seems to be incorrect. From the distances given by our author it appears that it lay somewhere mid-way between Cambay and Daybul. Again, being the beginning of the boundary of India, it should be looked for along the coast of Kathiawar. The north-western tip of the Kathiawar peninsula, where it turns inwards and forms a tiny peninsula itself, called OKHA-MANDAL (Baroda), as shown on the "Times" Atlas (plate 58) seems to me to be the most likely place with which to identify our author's Oykman. Port Okha lies at the northern-most tip of this peninsula. The town of Dwarka, an ancient place of pilgrimage of the Hindus, stands on the western coast of this peninsula. Idrīsī's information that the inhabitants of Oykman were idol-worshippers may relate to this town. Ptolemy's *Barakê* Island in the Gulf of *Kanthi* (Cutch) is identified by Yule with *Jaggat* or *Dwârakâ*; Lassen also identifies it with *Dwârakâ*, which he places on the coast between *Purbandar* and *Miyâni*, near *Śrînagar* (*McCrindle's A.I.*, pp. 36, 187-8). Berthelot, *L'Asie*, p. 320, identifies Ptolemy's *Barakê* with the island of Diu. It cannot be said with any certainty whether Idrīsī's Oykman has any etymological relation with Ptolemy's *Barakê* (cf. Idrīsī: اربكن); or with Ariakê (cf. Idrīsī: اريكن); but Okhamandal seems to answer the description of Idrīsī's Oykman. For the Arab boats coming from Daybul and sailing along the coast, this area might have been the first territory that they would have called at. Cf. *Dvāravatī*, Law, *Historical Geography*, p. 282.

Comparing the distances given by I. Khur. between Kūlī (see under *Towns and Regions*) and "Ūt.kīn" (Oykman?) with those given by Idrīsī, Nainar, (pp. 52-53) points out that Idrīsī goes to Kūlī from 'Ūbkīn' after travelling 2 days and 12 miles through the islands of Daybul and Mand, whereas I. Khur. gives this distance as 4 *farsakhs*. These accounts in his opinion seem to be conflicting. Actually, Idrīsī gives two different itineraries (Tr. p. 55, §§ 93-97): 1. from Cambay to Oykman, 1½

Map II

IDRĪSĪ'S MAP OF CEYLON

(Based on Oxford 1, *Map. Arab.*, VI B Taf. 8, showing rivers, mountains and towns with improved forms of the names).

Map III

Map of Ceylon, showing locations of some of the towns mentioned by Idrisi

80
82
10
PALK STRAIT
INDIAN
OCEAN
Jaffna
VII QALAMĀDHI
Challe
قلماذى
Mullaittivu
Rameshwaram
ADAM'S BRIDGE
I MARQĀYĀ
Mantai
مرقايا
Mannar
Arippu
II AGHNĀ
اغنا
Trincomalee
Anuradhapura
Mahaweli Ganga
8
فرسقورى
III FOROSQŪRI
Batticaloa
سندونا
VIII SANDŪNA
Chilaw
ماخولون
V MĀKHAULĀN
Bitenne
Negombo
Kandy
Bibile
Colombo
مرونه
XIII MURŪNA
Pottuvil
AL-RUHŪN MT.
Adam's Pk.
الرهون
Gin Ganga
Walawe Ganga
Galle

English Miles (*The names in red are given by Idrisi*)

majrās, and from the latter to Daybul, 2 *majrās*, in all 3½ *majrās* from Cambay to Daybul; 2. from Oykman (northwards) to the island of Mayd (or Mand, probably Mandvi on the southern coast of Cutch), 6 miles, and from there to Kūlī, again 6 miles. Thus, the total from Oykman to Kūlī (Kori Creek) would come to 12 miles or 4 *farsakhs*, as given by I. Khur. p. 62. The difficulty would arise if we were to identify our author's Kūlī with *Kūlīnār* of the Moḥīṭ, or Curinal of the Portuguese maps, north-west of Diu; in this case the distance of 6 miles from Oykman would be too short to account for the actual distance, and the direction of the itinerary would change from north-west to south-west from Oykman. See Kūlī, under *Towns and Regions*.

Bīrūnī, Ar. T., p. 102, mentions a place Baga (بگه), and gives the following itinerary: Daybul-Lōharānī (Lāhrī Bandar) = 12 *farsakhs*; Lōharānī-Baga = 12 *farsakhs*; Baga-Kach (كچ) and to Bāravi = 6 *farsakhs*. (Sachau, *India*, II, p. 320, identifies 'Baroi'' with Baroda). Then, from Kach to Sōmanāt, 14 *farsakhs*. This would place Baga about 25 miles north of Mandvi (I take *Kach* to stand for the port of Mandvi here, for the latter is sometimes also termed 'Kachh-Mandvi'. and Bīrūnī seems to refer here not to the whole region of Cutch, but to a specific place). Although one of Idrīsī's readings of the island under discussion, namely ارنكن, resembles Bīrūnī's بگه, the latter seems more likely to correspond to Bhuj, about 35 miles north-east of Mandvi.

QUMR. This is Madagascar. See Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, pp. 205, 472.

AL-RĀMĪ (*AL-RĀMNĪ) (Variant. T Cl. I, s. 8, § 33b: الرامنى). Cf. Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 4: الرامنى. This island corresponds to Rāmnī (Sumatra; cf. *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 57, and Commentary, p. 187). [The spelling al-Rāmnī is probably corrupted from Lāmurī. The position of this port in northern Sumatra has been discussed by T. Iskander, *De Hikajat Atjèh*, 1959, p. 27 sq. (Ed.)].

SAMUNDAR. Etymologically this name is derived from *Samudra* (see Samundar, under *Towns and Regions*). The island, according to Idrīsī's description, lay at a distance of one hour's journey by sea from the town of the same name, i.e. Samundar, and from here to the island of Ceylon it was 4 *majrās*. If we place the town

of Samundar near Ganjam, then this island might stand for the Parikud islands on the Chilka Lake. In the opinion of J. Ph. Vogel, communicated to me by letter, Samundar (Ssk. *Samudra* 'Sea', 'Ocean') seems to indicate the principal port in the Ganges delta.

SARANDĪB. This is the island of Ceylon. The word Sarandīb is a combination of *Saran* = Ssk. *Siṃhala* (from which the present *Ceylon* comes) and *dīb* = Ssk. *dvīpa*, "island" (Sauvaget, *A<u>kh</u>bār al-Ṣīn*, p. 36).

Area (Tr. p. 27, § 18): the Arabs had an exaggerated idea of the area of Ceylon. This conception, originating from the ancient Hindu traditions (Tennent, *Ceylon*, I, pp. 6-10), continued to prevail throughout the Middle Ages. Marco Polo gives the compass of Ceylon "in his time" as 2,400 miles, and says that in the olden times its circuit was larger, about 3,600 miles (Yule, II, pp. 312-3). The Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsang gives the circuit as 7,000 li or 1,400 miles. The actual circuit is less than 700 miles (Yule, *ibid.*, p. 314 n). According to Ibn Mājid, f. 69a, a man can go round it on foot in more or less ten days' time.

The towns of Sarandīb: Ptolemy seems to be the source of Idrīsī's knowledge of the towns of Ceylon that he has listed. A similar, though not parallel, list is given by al-<u>Kh</u>wārizmī in *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*. In Idrīsī's Text (Tr. p. 28, § 21), thirteen of these towns are given, but according to the maps of Idrīsī, the total comes to fourteen; the additional town not mentioned in the Text is اسرق (variant: اسرى). See Table below and Idrīsī's Map of Ceylon, Map II.

I. MARQĀYĀ (مرقايا) (= *مرقانا, MARQĀNĀ = MARGANA of Ptolemy). (Variants: T. Cl. I, s. 8, § 21a: مرنابا – مرناما). Cf. *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 3: برقايا (variant: برقانا), 125° 0', 3° 0' south; (Nallino, p. 40). This may be identified with Ptolemy's "MARGANA, a town ... 123° 30', 10° 20'", identified with Mantote on the north-western coast by Tennent (see *McCrindle's A.I.*, pp. 247, 258). This may correspond to Mantai.

II. A<u>GH</u>NĀ (اغنا) (= IÔGANA of Ptolemy) (Variants: Table: اعنا; *āġnā*, 132° 3'). Cf. *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 3: اعنا, 122° 0', 3° 0' south. "Tolomeo non ha nulla di simile" (Nallino, p. 40). Ptolemy's

lôgana (123° 20′, 8° 50′) is identified with Aripo (*McCrindle's A.I.*, pp. 248, 258), which may stand for Arippu on the western coast. The town described in *Ḥ.ʻA.*, p. 86, as *ʻAzr* (*Gh.zr*?), a small town near Sarandīb serving as the king's residence, may be the same as our author's Aghnā. Our author also mentions it as the residence of the king of this island (Tr. p. 28, § 22).

III. FOROSQŪRĪ (فرسقوری) (= PROKOURI of Ptolemy) (Variants: T. Cl. I, s. 8, § 21b: رسقوری). Table· *karkasui*; *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 7: ورسقوری (*فرسقوری) 125° 15′ (or 55′), 5° 15′ N.; Suhrāb, p. 14. This town probably corresponds to Forosqūrī = πρόκουρι (131°, 5° 40′) (Nallino, p. 40). Prokouri (131°, 5° 20′ *McCrindle's A.I.*, p. 249; *L'Asie*, p. 363: Prokouri, ville, 131°, 5° 40′) corresponds to Batticaloa. See *McCrindle's A.I.*, p. 258 and *L'Asie*, pp. 365-6.

IV. ABDĀDHY (?) (ابدذی = *اردی ?) (Variants: T. Cl. I, s. 8, § 21c: ناندق – ابدی · اری); cf. Table: اری, *ai'di*; Jaubert, I, p. 72: ایدی; cf. *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 6: اسودی (*انسوذی), 118° 15′ (or 55′), 4° 30′ N (Nallino, p. 40); Suhrāb, اسودی (variant: أنسوذی). The various forms of the name of this town suggest that it may correspond to ABARATHA of Ptolemy (131°, 3° 15′ N.), which is identified with Karativoe by Tennent, and with Apartote by Yule, which, in McCrindle's opinion, seems to be a better identification (see *McCrindle's A.I.*, pp. 248, 258).

V. MĀKHAULŪN (ماخولون) (= MAAGRAMMON of Ptolemy). (Variant: Cl. I, s. 8, § 21d: ماحرورون) *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 7: ماحرون (variant: ماحروارن); Nallino, p. 40, says: "al-Edr. I, 72: ماحولون. Dalf. 30, v. si ricava che la città non era lontana dalla foce del Ganges; ciò mi fa supporre che debbasi leggere ماغرمون Mâġramûn = Μαάγραμμον μητρόπολις (127° 0′, 7° 10′)". Cf. Suhrāb, p. 14; *ibid.*, p. 157, where he says that the river Ganges (Mahavali Ganga) passes by the town of MĀḤAULŪN (ماحولون) and then flows into the sea. This town evidently corresponds to Ptolemy's "Maagrammon, the metropolis ... 127°, 7° 20′", identified by Tennent with Bintenne, "whose ancient name was Mahâyangana or Mahâwelligâm" (see *McCrindle's A.I.*, pp. 250, 259). The fact that our author places this town on the coast of Ceylon, and not inland as it actually is, shows

how careless he was in drawing the map of Ceylon. Evidently he simply reproduced the list of names from the Arabic version of Ptolemy that he consulted and placed them quite arbitrarily on his map.

VI. ḤĀM.RY (حامری) (?) (Variants: T. Cl. I, s. 8, § 21e: حامرن); cf. Table: حافری – خامری – حابری; ğābrī; *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 7, has حاسری (variant: حاسرن) and it is counted as a town of India in the First Clime, in 125° 0′, 16° 15′ (55′?); Suhrāb, p. 14: جابری (variant: جابرن), belongs to India, 125° 0′, 16° 0′ (8° 0′?). The town is unidentified.

VII. QALAMĀDHĪ (قلماذی) (= *تلقاری? TALAKÔRY) (Variants: T. Cl. I, s. 8, § 21f: قلماذی – قلمادی; Table: ṭalmādī, قلماری); cf. Suhrāb, pp. 14, 157: قلماوری (variants: قلماذی); *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, pp. 7, 113: طلمادی (variant: قلادی), قلماذی; Nallino, p. 40, says "Forse si deve leggere تلقاری Ṯalaqârî ed identificare con ταλάκωρυ (126° 20′, 11° 40′; supponendo una scrittura θαλάκωρυ), poichè ambedue queste città sono rappresentate presso la foce del Phasis". From Suhrāb's قلماوری, it appears that the original Arabic form of the name may have been تلقاوری, the equivalent of Ptolemy's "Talakôry (or Aakotê), a mart . . . 126° 20′, 11° 20″, identified by Tennent with Tondi Manaar (*McCrindle's A.I.*, pp. 249, 259), and by Berthelot with Challe, and shown as Chundikulam on his map of Ceylon (*L'Asie*, p. 365 and fig. 13).

VIII. SANDŪNĀ (سندونا) (= SINDOKANDA or SINDOVANDA of Ptolemy?) (Variants: T. Cl. I, s. 8, § 21g: سنبذونا – سنیدوما – سدونا); Table: سندری – سنرود – سندورا – سدرری sandūma. Cf. *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 6: سندونا on the sea; Nallino, p. 40: سندونا, 117° 15′ (or 55′). 4° 0′ N.; Jaubert, I, p. 72: سندوما. This town may stand for Ptolemy's "Sindokanda, a town . . . 122°, 5°", identified by Tennent with Chilau (Chilaw), from *Salâbhana*—the Diving, i e. Pearl Fishery (*McCrindle's A.I.*, pp. 248, 258). Cf. Berthelot, *L'Asie*, p. 363: "Sindovanda, ville".

IX. SANDŪRĀ (سندورا) (?) (Variants: T. Cl. I, s. 8, § 21h: سندوری); Table: سندریا – مندوار – sadi; cf. Suhrāb, p. 14: سندوا belongs to Ceylon, 117° 15′, 3° 0′ (8° 0′). This may be the same town as No. VIII (?).

X. TYBRY تیبری (?) (Variants: T. Cl. I, s. 8, § 21i: بیبری –

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE TOWNS OF CEYLON

(based on the different versions of Idrīsī's map).

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n
I. Map of Oxford, *Map.Arab.*, VI.B Taf. 8:														
	مريشلى	ييرى	اغنا	—	ارى	ماخولى	حافرى	قلمارى	سندريا	سندرى	مرونه	اسرنى	كبنلى	—
II. Map Paris, *Map. Arab.*, VI. B Taf. 8:														
	—	—	اغنا	مروى	ارى	ماحولون	خامرى	قلمادى	—	—	—	—	—	—
III. Map Constantinople, *Map. Arab.*, VI. B Taf. 8:														
	--	—	اغنا	—	ارى	ماخولى	حابرى	قلمادى	سندريا	سندورى	مرونه	اسرنى	—	—
IV. Map Kairo, *Map. Arab.*, VI. B Taf. 72:														
	—	—	—	—	ابوا	ماسولون / مامون	—	قلمادى	—	سندرود	مرونه	—	—	—
V. Id. 2, *Map. Arab.*, VI. B Taf. 59:														
	برشلى	—	—	—	—	—	جارى	قلمادى	مندوار	سندورا	برويا	—	طنلى	—
VI. Die Kleine Idrisikarte, *Map. Arab.*, 1 Band 3. Heft:														
	ba-rišli	tīzī	a'na	—	--	—	ǵābrī	kal-mādī	—	san-dūrā	brūīā	—	tīna-lí	—
VII. Die Weltkarte des Idrisi, *Map. Arab.*, 1. Band 2. Heft, Plate III:														
	ba-rišli	iabri	ağnā 132°, 3°	kar-kasui	ai'di	mahū-lūn	hamri	tal-mādı	sadi	san-dūma	ma-dūna	asar-na	kaš-li	mar-na-ba
	XII	X	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	IX	VIII	XIII	XIV	XI	I

According to the various versions of Idrīsī's map of Ceylon, the total number of towns mentioned comes to fourteen, whereas Idrīsī mentions only thirteen towns in his text. The additional town is shown in the Table above in column l (XIV). See Map II.

(بيدى – سرى): Table: يبرى tīzī, iabri; cf. Suhrāb p. 14: سرا (variant: تررا), on the sea, 121° 15′, 16° 0′. This town is shown as an inland town on Idrīsī's map of Ceylon.

XI. KNBLY (كنبلى) (?) (Variants: T. Cl I, s. 8, § 21): (كبلى – كبيلى); Table: كبنلى – tīnali (tinanalī), طنلى; Jaubert I. p. 72: كسلى. It is shown as an inland town on Idrisi's maps.

XII. BRUNSHLY (برنشل) (?) (Variants: T. Cl. I, s. 8, § 21k: بوبسل - برسل - بربسل - برسبل); Jaubert, I, p. 72: بربسل; Table: مريشل - برشل, barišli. This is also shown as an inland town on the maps of Idrīsī.

XIII. MURŪNA (مرونه) (Variant: T. Cl. I, s. 8, § 21l: مرروبه); Jaubert, I, p. 72: مدونا; Table: بروبا, madūna. Cf. *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 6: مروبا, on the sea, 120° 0', 16° 15' (16° 7'?); Suhrāb, p. 14: مرورا, on the sea, 120° 0', (109° 0' or 89° 0'), 15° 14'? This may stand for the "haven of Mardos or Mardoulamnê . . . 131°, 2° 20' N." identified by Tennent with Arukgam Bay (*McCrindle's A.I.*, pp. 248, 258). Cf. Berthelot, *L'Asie*, p. 363: "Mardoula, port . . . 130°, 2° 20' N." He identifies it with Patuwila, *ibid.*, p. 365.

SINDĀN. It is described by Idrīsī as a very big island towards the east of the town of Sindān (Sanjam), growing coconuts, palm-trees, bamboos and rattan (Tr. p. 56, § 100). It is placed at a distance of two *majrās* from the island of Malay (Malabar, or Quilon) (Tr. p. 62, § 28). Our author mentions this island as distinct from the town of Sindān (only variant: شندان, T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 80c; *ibid.*, § 99a). I. Khur., p. 62, mentions only the town of Sindān, five days' journey from Malay, and does not mention an island of the same name separately. With regard to the direction of this island, MS. Par. A has the additional words: مع الجنوب in the margin (T. Cl. II, s. 8, § 100a). This places the island in a south-easterly direction from the town of Sindān. Either this island of our author is a repetition of the town of Sindān or it may stand for some nearby peninsula or island. It may in this case be identified with the Bassein island, north of Bombay, but this is a mere conjecture.

THE SMALL ISLANDS. These may correspond to the "Dîva-Kanbâr, i.e. the Dîva of the cords (ديوه كنبار) twisted from coconut fibres, and used for fastening together the planks of the ships", mentioned by Bīrūnī. He divides the Dīva Islands into: 1. those producing cowry-shells (ديوه كُوذَه), 2. the Dīva of the cords (Bīrūnī, Ar. T., p. 103; *India*, I, p. 210), and 3. *Dīva Ram* (ديـوه رم) with its capital مكل between Ceylon and Quilon (Bīrūnī, ed. Togan, p. 140). Abū Zayd informs us that some Indians go to these islands

and plant coconuts there. They draw water from wells and supply it to boats, in return for a reward (Abū Zayd, vol. II, T., p. 130). According to Reinaud, these are the Maldives and the Laccadives (Abū Zayd, *ibid.*, *Notes* [211], p. 57); cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, II, p. 207, on coconuts in the Maldives. See Dībajāt above.

S.NĀSĀ (?) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s.9, § 2b: سياها – سامنا – ساسا – سناسنا ; سياسا; *ibid.*, § 19a: سناسيا). This island has not been identified.

T͟HĀRA (*BĀRA, باره) (Variant: T. Cl. II, s. 7, § 2a and § 98a: تاره). Cf. I. K͟hur., p. 62: ثارا, who puts it at seven days' journey from Harmūz and eight days' journey from Daybul, forming the frontier between Fārs and Sind. In De Goeje's opinion, it should be read as Tīz (I. K͟hur., tr., p. 42); cf. Qalq., p. 58. from Hurmūz to Bār (بار), 7 days' journey. Idrīsī (*Map. Arab.* 1. Band, 2. Heft, Plate II) places the Tārā island south of Tīz of Makrān. Idrīsī might have fixed its geographical position and placed it opposite to Tīz on the basis of the distances given by I. K͟hur. It cannot, however, be a misreading of Tīz. Hodīvālā, *I.M.H.*, p. 61, identifies it (spelt by him as "Sāra") with Sohar (Ṣoḥār) on the coast of ʿUmān, a town that was well known to Arab geographers. There seems to be no reason for identifying the place with towns whose names diverge widely in spelling. Idrīsī's T͟hāra or Tāra seems in all probability to be the same as the *Nāra* mentioned in *H.ʿA.*, p. 58, which Minorsky corrects to *Bāra, meaning in Persian "moenia et munimentum castri vel urbis", Vullers, I, 170 (Minorsky, *Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 188). This, as pointed out by Minorsky, was a legendary island marking the 0° of longitude and latitude, and giving rise to much discussion and confusion. In actual fact it did not exist, and Bīrūnī counted it among the localities that are "as if unknown" (*ibid.*, pp. 188-9).

ŪRĪSĪN (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 9, § 1c: لورشيق – اوريشن -- اوريشق – اورشين ; *ibid.*, § 2a: اورسين – اويسيق – اوريشين ; *ibid.*, § 3a: اورشين ; *ibid.*, § 11b: اورشن – اورشق). Idrīsī's Ūrīsīn (still better: Ūris͟hin) seems to correspond to Orissa. I. K͟hur., p. 64, gives: Ūr.ns͟hīn (*Ūrīs͟hīn), Orissa, Minorsky, *Ḥ.ʿA.*, pp. 241 & 243. I. K͟hur., p. 64, does not distinguish between the town and the island of the same name, as Idrīsī does (Tr. p. 69, § 4), but he does refer to the presence of elephants, and other animals and goods, and

describes it as a big country with a powerful king at its head. This brief account seems to be an abridgement of a fuller account probably contained in the previous edition of his work. The detailed information given by Idrīsī suggests that he may have consulted the fuller edition of I. Khur.'s work. Idrīsī's 'island' of Ūrīsīn seems to correspond to the region lying to the north of the Mahanadi river in Orissa, and the term '*jazīra*', which may mean an island or a peninsula, may refer to the delta of this river. On his map, Idrīsī has drawn Ūrīsīn as an island (!) lying opposite to the town of the same name on the coast, and east (north) of Samundar. In these regions, wild elephants infest the jungles of Athmallik, Brāmbā, Dhenkānāl, Hindol, Mayūrbhanj, Nīlgiri and Narsinghpur, and iron has been found and worked from the earliest times. The iron ores of Mayūrbhanj are of excellent quality (*I.G.I.*, vol. XIX, pp. 254, 260). The town of Ūrīsīn is unidentified. According to I. Khur., p. 64, it should lie 36 miles north of Samundar (see under *Towns and Regions*). This would place it somewhere near Puri. However, the distance of three *marḥalas* between (the town of) Ūrīsīn and Lūqīn (Lung-Pien in Tonkin) given by Idrīsī (Tr. p. 72, § 17) is inexplicable. See Bihank, under *Rivers*.

*ZĀBAJ. This corresponds to the island of Java. According to Bīrūnī, ed. Togan, p. 71, *al-Zābaj* are the islands of Divah (ديوه) and Jāva (جاوه).

7. FLORA, FAUNA, NATURAL PRODUCTS, AND MANUFACTURED GOODS

ALOES-WOOD (Tr. p. 64, § 43). According to I. Khur., pp. 63-64, aloes-wood was brought from 'Kāmarūn' (Kāmarūpa, Assam) and other places to Samundar in fresh water from a distance of fifteen or twenty days. Commenting on this information of I. Khur., Minorsky points out that I. Khur. evidently means that the aloes was floated on rivers, such as Godavari (*Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 242). Describing the different varieties of aloes-wood, Bīrūnī mentions that the one called *Indian*, also known as *Bankālī* (from Bengal), was the best; and according to the marginal note, the choicest of the aloes-wood

was *Indian* called *Samundarūk* . . . then *al-Qāqulī*, then *al-Ṣanfī*, then *al-Qimārī* (from Khmer) and lastly *al-Bankālī* (ed. Togan, p. 128). According to him it grew in the thickets over the other side of inaccessible mountains. Behind the mountain there was water and in front of it (on the other side) the sea (a river?); underneath the mountain there was a passage through which the water flowed into 'the sea' carrying the aloes-plant which fell in it. The Sultan's men kept an eye on it and on finding it they buried it underground for a year. Then it was dug up and cleaned and scraped with a knife and file. The purpose of burying it was that the softer and the lighter part be (eliminated) by putrifaction, and the harder part left. According to him (*ibid.*, p. 11), the Qāmarūn mountains intervening between India and China were the sources of aloes-wood (see under *Mountains*, Qāmarūn). Cf. Abu 'l-Fidā, *Taqwīm*, pp. 21-22 & 360-61.

AL-ʿANBĀ. This is the mango, popularly known as *'Ām* in India. Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 320: الأنبج; Iṣṭ., p. 173. In its unripe state, it is used to prepare condiments called *achār*. Cf. I. Baṭṭūṭa, vol. II, p. 185: العنبا; and vol. III, pp. 125-26: العنبة.

AL-BĀBA (*البلينة?). (Variants: T. Cl. I, s. 10, § 18d: العبرة). This is the sperm whale, *Physeter catodon*. It occurs in all tropical waters. It dives to a great depth in pursuit of the cuttlefish, its main food, though it also eats fishes. Ambergris is a morbid concretion of its intestine, commanding a high price (see *Encyc. Brit.* ed. 1955, under *Cetacea*). A variety of forms are used by the Arab writers to denore the term for whale (see Sauvaget, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 34). The form *al-bāba* as used here by Idrīsī resembles البلينة, Greek: φάλαινα. See Carra de Vaux, *Abrégé*, p. 61, note 1, *Akhbār al-Zamān*, p. 38: البليغة and p. 22: العنبر. As for the growth of 'shell-like stones' on the back of this mammal, compare our author's information with that given by Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 2: 'grass and shells'; *ʿAjā'ib al-Hind*, p. 102: 'like stones'; *Abrégé*, p. 61: 'croûte pierreuse'; *Akhbār al-Zamān*, p. 38: 'grows stones'. The growth of 'shell-like stones' may refer to the dorsal fin of the sperm whale, reduced to a low hump. and continued as a ridge towards the tail. The oil referred to by our author and several other Arab writers (cf. *Akhbār al-*

9

Zamān, p. 39; *Abrégé*, p. 61; Qazwīnī, *'Ajā'ib*, p. 131) is the liquid spermaceti extracted from the brain of the sperm whale. According to Bīrūnī (ed. Togan, p. 138) the fat (used in boat-making) is the oil of *al-wāl* (the whale).

BAQQAM. Cf. I. Khur., p. 65; *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 57: Brazil wood (*dār-i parniyān*); Bīrūnī, ed. Togan, p. 112. This is the wood of Caesalpinia sappan (Malay: *sĕpang*). It is a thorny tree indigenous to western India from Goa to Trevandram, and growing luxuriantly in south Malabar (Yule, *Marco Polo*, II, pp. 380-81, n. 2). Yule says that according to Pegolotti (c. 1340), there were three kinds of Brazil-woods, namely, *Colomni*, *Ameri* and *Seni*, of which the *Colomni* (or *Colombino*) was a sixth more than the *Ameri* and three times as much as the *Seni*. According to Yule, Ameri may stand for Lameri referring to Lambri in Sumatra (*ibid.*).

BARK-MILK (*Ṭabāshīr*). *Ṭabāshīr* is from Ssk. *Tavakshīra* or *Vānsrochana*; Hindi *Bānslochan*, or *Bānskapur*; also called *Sākar bāmbū* or *Bamboo-manna*. It is a siliceous substance sometimes found in the joints of the bamboo (see Hodīvālā, *I.M.H.*, p. 69). Idrīsī's *sharkī*, in Hodīvālā's opinion, must be the reed called *Sara*, *Sarkanda* etc. (Botanical name: *Saccharum arundinaceum*), but he says that this plant does not yield *ṭabāshīr*, which is produced not in the roots of any reed or cane, but in the joints of the bamboo, and Idrīsī would appear to have mixed one with the other (*ibid.*, p. 69). Of the two readings in Idrīsī of this word, viz., *sharkī* and *shaukī*, the latter has been preferred by me and translated as 'prickly', which gives a better meaning to the text.

BOATS. According to al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, p. 365, iron nails were used for joining the planks of the boats of the Mediterranean Sea, but those of the Indian Ocean were sewn together with fibre, for nails usually got dissolved by the waters of the Indian Ocean, and the boats became weak. On the other hand, Marco Polo (Yule, *Marco Polo*, I, pp. 108 & 117, n. 3) describes the boats of Hurmuz as 'wretched affairs', and says that the people there have no iron to make nails, and for this reason use only wooden pegs in their shipbuilding and then stitch the planks with twine. Nails were used in Chinese boats also (see *ibid.*, I, pp. 249, 250).

DHABL. I. Khur., p. 61, speaks of the sea-turtle (السلحفاة) and its back as *dhabl*. The word *dhabl* is described by lexicographers as either the skin or the back of the sea-turtle or of the tortoise, or as the bones of the back of a sea animal, of which bangles and combs for women are made (see *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*; *Lisān*). Idrīsi (Tr. p. 25, §§ 9 & 10) seems to refer to two species of the marine turtle. One is the hawksbill (*Eretmochelys imbricata*), which is of a small size and has overlapping horny plates on the back and a hooked beak. It occurs in all tropical seas, and is the source of the "tortoise shell" of commerce. The horny shields of the carpace are stripped off by heat, and when heated in oil or by steam they can be welded together to form slabs thick enough for manufacturing purposes. The second is the green turtle (*Chelonia mydas*) used for making turtle soup. It is a larger species than the hawksbill, attaining a length of close to 4 feet, and the horny plates of the back do not overlap but meet edge to edge. Both these species, as also the loggerhead (*Caretta caretta*), have the same general habits and distribution, except that the green turtle only is partially or entirely herbivorous. All lay eggs in pits dug by the female on sandy beaches which are visited at night, and it is then that large numbers are captured. Their eggs, too, are edible (see *Encyc. Brit.*, under *Turtle*).

DIAMOND (Tr. p. 27, § 20). In *Akhbār al-Zamān*, pp. 27-28, we find the story of how diamonds were acquired with the help of vultures from the valleys of Ceylon. Lumps of meat were cast into these snake-infested valleys where diamonds were found. Pieces of diamond stuck to these lumps and the vultures picked them up and carried them to their eating places. People went up to these places, took the meat and picked out diamonds from it. Kings had them made into ring-stones and wore them.

EMERY. On the emery of Ceylon, India and Nubia, see Bīrūnī, p. 76 (ed. Togan).

AL-FĀNĪDH. Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 325. The chief product of Makrān was the sugar-cane, and also the particular kind of white sugar known to the Arabs as *al-fānīdh* (from the Persian *Pānīd*), see Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 329. Etymologically, the word is connected with the Ssk. *Phāṇita*, sugar (see *I.M.H.*, p. 63).

GOLD (Found in the island of al-Rāmnī, i.e. Sumatra, Tr. p. 32,

§ 40). Cf. **Bīrūnī (ed. Togan, p. 75): the islands of Zābaj were called 'the land of gold' in the Indian language, *swarna dība*, i.e. the island of gold, and also *swarna bharma*** (read: *bhūmi*), **i.e. the land of gold.**

GRAPES. Cf. I. Faqīh, p. 14; *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 26: In India there are no grapes and they are found in little quantities in China. Qalq., p. 49, describing the fruits of India, says that figs and grapes are found in small quantities there.

ḤASHĪSH-CLOTH. Amongst the exports of India (the East Indies) I. Khur., p. 70, mentions cloth made of herbs (ḥashīsh). De Goeje points out that according to Olearius this herb was known as the herb of Bengal (see I. Khur., tr., p. 51, note 2). This plant is probably a variety of hemp (*Cannabis sativa*). The fibre obtained from the stalks of this plant is exceedingly strong, and is used for making ropes, twine, sailcloth and other materials of great strength and durability. The Bengal hemp is of a different variety: its fibre is not so strong as that of *Cannabis sativa* (see J. Clinton Cunningham, *Products of the Empire*, Oxford, 1928, pp. 194-5).

IRON. The use of Indian iron in the manufacture of goods of fine quality is often referred to in Arabic literature. In a long discourse on iron, Bīrūnī, ed. Togan, pp. 98-105, describes the different qualities of iron, their properties, and the use of certain varieties in the manufacture of swords in some countries. He especially describes the various types of iron and other compounds used in the manufacture of swords and daggers in India.

AL-MĪZARA (الميزرة?) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 9, § 16e: البرورة – البدورة; MS. Aya Sofya 3502, p. 144: المورة). These may be the eels belonging to the *moray* family of the order of Apodes. The typical morays (*Gymnothorax* etc.) are heavy-bodied, somewhat compressed eels. They are strong and predacious, hunting the crevices of the reef where fishes on which they prey find security from other enemies; and the largest attain a length of five feet or more. They may be plain-coloured, or mottled, or more boldly patterned (see *Encyc. Brit.*, under *Fishes*). If *mamūra* should be the correct form of the word, it may be connected with Greek μύραινα, from which *moray* is ultimately derived.

NAKED PEOPLE. The description of the 'naked people' inhabiting the Rāmī Island, i.e. Sumatra (Tr. p. 32, § 39), is more applicable to apes than to an aboriginal tribe inhabiting the island. We find a similar account given in *Akhbār al-Zamān* p. 35, wherein they are described as 'naked people'. Commenting on the 'island of apes' as described in the *Arabian Nights*, Lane points out 'That the pigmies of antiquity, and of early travellers, were apes, cannot reasonably be doubted'. (See Lane, *Arabian Nights*, vol. III, pp. 24, 91).

PEARLS. Bīrūnī (ed. Togan, pp. 76-79) informs us of the presence of pearl-beds along the sea-coast between Makrān and Baḥrayn and spreading westwards up to Muscat and Aden. The existence of pearl-beds in Ceylon is usually mentioned by early Arab geographers, but Idrīsī's information regarding 'fishing grounds and diving beds for pearls' in Sūbāra (near Bombay) (Tr. p. 55, § 97) is something new. Of pearls mentioned by Pliny and Idrīsī, specimens are still found in the Thāna creek (*I.G.I.*, vol. XXIII, p. 297).

PEPPER. (Tr. pp. 56-57, §§ 102-104). According to Bīrūnī (ed. Togan, p. 129), Bandarā (Idrīsī's *Fandarayna*?), the first limit of Malabar (from north to south) grew pepper. The 'black pepper', he says, is called *marich* in the Indian language and also *marij* in the Soghdian. The word generally used for pepper-corn in India is *kālī mirch* (*kālī* meaning black and *mirch* being the general term for various kinds of chillies and peppers). The Arabic word *al-filfil* seems to have been derived from the Sanskrit *pippali*, which according to *Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 697-8, means not the ordinary pepper of commerce ('black pepper') but *long pepper*, the plant of which is sometimes classified in a different genus (*chavica*) from the black pepper. Black pepper is a perennial climbing shrub, *Piper nigrum*, indigenous in the forests of Malabar and Travancore. White pepper is prepared from the black by removing the dark outer layer of the pericarp, thereby depriving it of a part of its pungency. The berries are gathered when they are just turning from green into red. They are then spread in the sun, and, as they dry, they turn black and wrinkled. White pepper is obtained by soaking them in water, and then removing their skin (see J. Clinton Cunningham, *Products of the Empire*, p. 110).

QANNĀ AND KHAYZURĀN. According to Nainar, p. 193, the word *qannā* (probably from Hindi *gannā*) must mean a kind of bamboo, for *ṭabāshīr* (see Bark-milk above) is found in the interior of the hollow stems of some bamboos, chiefly *Bambusa arundinacea*. *Khayzurān* is the Indian bamboo.

RUBIES OF CEYLON. Bīrūnī (ed. Togan, pp. 69-72) rejects the general belief of Arab writers that the rubies that were found on the mountain of 'Lightning' (Adam's Peak, see under *Mountains*, al-Ruhūn) were fostered by the 'lightning' that was ever present on this mountain (our author's 'permanent light'). It was actually fire that was continuously kept alight and served the purpose of a light-house to guide boats. It had nothing to do with the rubies, nor was it atmospheric lightning. Again, he describes as nonsense the view of Naṣr b. Aḥmad al-Khaṭībī that, when the sun shone over the rubies, it resembled lightning, for this light was present there after sunset and became dim when the sun rose. Bīrūnī was informed by the jewellers of his country that the pomegranate-like and superior kind of rubies were appropriated by the Master of Ceylon for himself and were specially reserved for him. The rest were left for the merchants for commercial purposes. It is for this reason that the pomegranate-type of rubies were not imported in 'our country'. Whatever were found there of this variety belonged to an old stock.

SHAHKĪR (الشهكير ?) (Variants: T. Cl. II, s. 9, § 14a: الشهلير/ الشكر/ المشكر). The correct reading of the name of this plant is difficult to ascertain. There is a poisonous plant that was known to the Arab writers as *bīsh* (*Aconitum ferox*). See Ferrand, *Relations*, pp. 246-48. The word is derived from Ssk. *visha*, 'poison', which was sometimes used specifically for "the poison of various species of aconite, particularly *Aconitum ferox*, otherwise more specifically called in Skt. *vatsanābha*, 'calf's navel', corrupted into *bachnābh* or *bachnāg*, &c." (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 96).

AL-SHAKĪ and AL-BARKĪ. This is the Jack-fruit (fruit of the tree *Artocarpus integrifolia*). Shakī < Malayalam *chakka*, meaning 'round'. See *Hobson-Jobson*, under *Jack*; cf. I. Baṭṭūṭa, III, pp. 126-27.

AL-YAMŪNA. This is *Eugenia jambolana* or *jāmun* or *jāman* (Otto Spies, Qalq., p. 21). Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 320.

B. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL SECTION

1. KINGS AND KINGDOMS

It appears that Idrīsī's various references to the kings of India do not apply to kings of the same period. Some refer to contemporary kings, others to those of a much earlier period.

The paragraph wherein he enumerates several kings and realms (Tr. p. 36, § 7) is based on Ibn Khurradādhbih, pp. 16 and 67. It indicates the political set-up of India about A.D. 800. Professor Minorsky has traced the origin of this report to this period. He says that as Dharma-pāla's empire was ephemeral, and even he himself, towards the end of his life, seems to have surrendered to his Rāṣṭrakūṭa rival, the original report on DHM, and apparently the other kings, must belong to a period round about A.D. 800 or slightly earlier. Consequently, at least some of the details on DHM may go back to Yaḥyā b. Khālid's envoy (*Marvazi*, p. 148). Again, he distinguishes "the early reports going by the name of Sulaymān (A.D. 851)" from "the report presented to Yaḥyā b. Khālid (*circa* A.D. 800)" and concludes that the details on the kings go back to some other early source (*ibid.*, p. 143). Taking Minorsky's analysis regarding the period of origin of these reports as the basis, we may tentatively accept this period to be around A.D. 800.

Out of the list of kings given by Idrīsī three, namely, *Ballahrā* (Vallabharāja belonging to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of the South), *al-Jurz* (Gūrjara belonging to the Gūrjara-Pratihāra dynasty of Northern and Western India) and *D.hmy* (Dharmapāla, the ruler belonging to the Pāla dynasty of Bengal) represent the three powerful dynasties which ruled India during this period. During the first decade of the ninth century A.D., Govinda III, the son of Dhruva, (A.D. 793-814), belonging to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of the Deccan seems to have been the most powerful monarch of India. He is described by R. G. Bhandarkar as 'certainly one of the greatest of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes' (*Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, vol. III, ed. by N. B. Utgikar, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1927, p 90). Before the year 804 A.D., he had vanquished the power of the Gaṅga prince of Cera, had marched against the Gūrjara king, 'who fled away at his approach', and had received the obeisance of the king of Mālwa

and that of the ruler of the territory adjoining the Vindhyas. During this period he also brought the Pallava king of Kāñcī under a more complete subjection than before and received the submission of the king of Veṅgi, or the country between the lower Krishna and the Godavari. 'This grand victorious march to the North and the South must have taken place before Śaka 726 or A.D. 804'. According to Bhandarkar he 'appears to have become the paramount sovereign of the whole country from Mālwa in the North to Kāñcīpura in the south, and to have under his immediate sway the country between the Narmadā and the Tuṅgabhadrā'. He assigned the province of 'Lāṭa', between 'the Mahī and the lower Tāpī' to his brother Indra, who became the founder of another branch of the dynasty. He made and unmade kings. His various epithets were *Prabhūtavarṣa* or 'Raining profusely', *Pṛthvīvallabha* or 'the Lover of the Earth' and *Śrī-Vallabha* (See Bhandarkar, *op.cit.*, pp. 90-92). It seems, therefore, that the king *Ballahrā* described as the greatest king of India in the report by Ibn Khurradādhbih, from whom our author has borrowed his information, can be no other person than Govinda III. According to A. S. Altekar, *Imperial Kanauj*, p. 8, it is now generally held that the conquests of Govinda III in Northern India were achieved before A.D. 802, most probably in A.D. 800.

The other important king described in this report, namely, *al-Jurz*, should be identified with Nāgabhaṭa II, who belonged to the Pratīhāra dynasty and lived in the same period as Govinda III. In his chapter on 'Rise and Fall of the Pratīhāra Empire', R. C. Majumdar (*Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 24-28) has described how Nāgabhaṭa II, after conquering many regions in the north, east and west, and having defeated Chakrāyudha, occupied Kanauj, which later became the capital of the Pratīhāras. Then he faced the armies of the king of Bengal, Dharmapāla, and with the help of his feudatory chiefs achieved a victory over him. But this victory was short-lived, and 'once more the hereditary enemies from the south upset the grandiose imperial scheme of the Pratīhāras'. Govinda III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince from the south, invaded the north and 'inflicted a crushing blow on Nāgabhaṭa and shattered his dreams of founding an empire'. Majumdar points out that it is difficult to fix the date of the great victory of Govinda III over

Nāgabhaṭa II, but it must have taken place before A.D. 809-10. The success of Govinda was short-lived, for he was called to the Deccan on account of internal troubles at home, and for nearly half a century the Rāṣṭrakūṭas ceased to play any dominant part in north Indian politics. The field was thus left free for the two rivals, the Pālas and the Pratīhāras. Nāgabhaṭa II, however, continued to exercise his sway over the greater part, if not the whole, of Rājputāna and the Kathiawar peninsula. In the east his sway extended up to Gwalior and probably further east so as to include Kanauj and Kālañjara. His death must have taken place in A.D. 833. He put an end to his life by immersion in the holy waters of the Ganges.

Al-Idrīsī's reference to the third important king, namely *D.hmy*, seems to pertain to Dharmapāla (c. A.D. 770-810). Dharmapāla was the son of Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. According to R. C. Majumdar, *Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 44-48, Dharmapāla had to face two enemies in the beginning, the Pratīhāra ruler Vatsarāja from the west and Dhruva, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa from the south. He was defeated by both. Dhruva had also defeated Vatsarāja. But in this triangular struggle for power, Dharmapāla did not suffer much either in power or prestige, and taking advantage of the defeat of the Pratihāras and of the retreat of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas to the south, he carried on successful campaigns in the north and thus made himself the suzerain of nearly the whole of northern India. Bengal and Bihar were directly under his rule; the kingdom of Kanauj, roughly corresponding to modern U.P., was a close dependency; then several rulers of the Punjab, Western Hill States, Rājputāna, Mālwa, and Berar acknowledged him as their overlord and paid homage to him. According to a tradition (preserved in *Svayambhū-Purāṇa*), Nepal was also a vassal state of Dharmapāla. But Dharmapāla's triumphant career did not remain unchallenged for long. He was attacked by Nāgabhaṭa II and defeated in a pitched battle near Monghyr, but Nāgabhaṭa was in turn attacked and defeated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III. Govinda soon left for the Deccan and Dharmapāla was once more free to pursue unchecked his imperial ambitions. He continued to rule as a mighty emperor till the end of his life. He died at an advanced age after a reign of 32 years or more. According to Vincent A. Smith,

Dharmapāla is stated to have held his court at Pātaliputra about 810 A.D. (*The Early History of India*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 413-14).

The Arab geographers' *Ballahrā*, *al-Jurz* and *D.hmy* may, therefore, be identified with the above mentioned princes belonging to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Gūrjara-Pratīhāra and Pāla dynasties of this period, when these three powerful dynasties fought successive triangular wars against one another for the domination of India. The information concerning the political conditions in the works of earlier geographers was often incorporated by later writers uncritically, and al-Idrīsī is one such writer. However, some of his accounts seem to relate to the contemporary period. Each of the kings and kingdoms mentioned by Idrīsī is dealt with separately below.

ʿĀBA (*JĀBA?) (Variants: Cl.I, s. 10, § 7f: غابه – نجابه). According to Minorsky, I. Khur.'s عابه (*غابه) is perhaps a dittography for جابه (Ghāba/Gāba) (*Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 249). Idrīsī's ʿĀba and other forms may likewise be a dittography for Jāba. *Jāba*, variant *Jāfa*, is mentioned in the same list of kings separately. See Jāba, under *Towns and Regions*.

BALLAHRĀ. This name is the arabicized form of the title *Vallabharāja* belonging to several princes of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty (c. A.D. 753-975). 'The Rāṣṭrakūṭas' in the opinion of R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 106, 'appear clearly to have assumed the title of Vallabha which was used by their predecessors the Cālukyas.' See also Minorsky, *Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 238. Idrīsī's reading: ويلوه (Cl. I, s. 10, § 7) is slightly different from that of I. Khurradādhbih, p. 67: ويزل. This may have been a mistake on the part of the copyist. But Minorsky points out that I. Khur., I. Rust., and Masʿūdī have somewhat misunderstood in saying that Kumkam (Konkan) was the name of Ballahrā's kingdom (*Ḥ.ʿA.*, p. 238 n. 2), for according to Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 12, Ballahrā's kingdom started from the coastal region of *Kumkam*. The reading given in Idrīsī seems also to suffer from the same mistake. Nainar, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-44 and 162, identifies Idrīsī's Ballahrā kings with the later Chālukya dynasty and seems to believe that Idrīsī's description of Ballahrā and his capital Nahrwāra (Patan) (Tr. p. 59, §§ 13) relates to the reign of Vikramāditya II, the greatest prince of this dynasty, who ruled for fifty years, A.D.

1076-1126. He then expresses surprise at Idrīsī's not mentioning Kalyana, the capital city of these kings. Actually, it would help to differentiate the references to Ballahrā in § 7 (Tr. p. 36) and §§ 106-108 (Tr. p. 57) from Ballahrā as the ruler of Nahrwāra in § 13 as mentioned above. The former refers to Govinda III belonging to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, whereas the latter seems to refer to the conditions of Gujerat during the reign of its ruler Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, belonging to the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra dynasty, who ruled from A.D. 1096-1143. Nahrwāra or Aṇahilvāda was his capital. It was a prosperous town with a flourishing trade and commerce, which was carried on with the outside world via the ports of Cambay and Broach, ports of great importance at the time. Siddharāja was a just and a generous prince. He conceived of 'royal splendour as a composite of military triumphs, architectural grandeur and intellectual renaissance' (K. M. Munshi, *Gūrjara Deśa*, Part II, pp. 323, 326). Idrīsī mentions Nahrwāra as an important town and a great trading centre visited by Muslim merchants (Tr. p. 60, § 16). Here the travellers were honoured by its king and their property was safeguarded. This praise though similar in tone to those showered upon the Rāṣṭrakūṭas by the early Arab travellers and geographers, when seen in relation to other factors, seems to apply more to the above-mentioned Siddharāja than to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas,. or Vikramāditya II of the later Chālukya dynasty. Idrīsī specifically mentions that the king of Nahrwāra was called Ballahrā. The epithet *Ballahrā* is used by him for Siddharāja, as it must have become synonymous with a king who was kind and benevolent to Arab merchants as were the princes of Southern India in the earlier centuries. Idrīsī's information on Nahrwāra, its king and the customs and habits of the people, must have been acquired by him from the merchants visiting Gujerat for trading purposes during this period, or probably from the emissaries sent by King Roger himself. Minorsky (*Ḥ.'A.*, p. 238) points out that since the Muslims lived in large numbers in Ballahrā's kingdom, they sided with him against the rāja of Kanauj, and consequently were likely to exaggerate his power. As an example he quotes Idrīsī as one of those who included Nahrwāra in the domains of Ballahrā. Although it is correct to

say that the Muslims generally opposed the rājas of Kanauj in favour of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and exaggerated the latter's dominions, it would remove some of the objections if the 'Ballahrā' of Nahrwāra in Idrīsī were identified with Siddharāja of Gujerat and not with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. See also the introductory part of this section.

D.HMY (*DHARMA?). Cf. I. Khur., p. 67: RHMY (better reading: DHMY, *ibid.*, note l). The question of the correct reading of this name and the identification of this king has already been discussed by Minorsky (*Ḥ.ʿA.*, pp. 236-38; *Marvazī*, pp. 147-48), who has convincingly established that the prototype of DHM/RHMY stood for the Pāla king of Bengal Dharma-(pāla) (A.D. 769-801, and even down to 815), whose possessions extended in the north from the Bay of Bengal to Delhi and Jālandhar, and in the south down to the valleys of the Vindhya. See also the introductory part of this section.

DMHRA. The correct reading of this name cannot be fixed. The word may be a metathesis of Dharma. According to Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 3, the Maldives and the Laccadives were governed by a woman. Similar information is given by Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, I, p. 335, who says that all these islands are governed by a woman, and this has been their custom since the ancient times. They are not ruled by a man. Muqaddasī, p. 13, reporting on the authority of a person who visited these islands, says that she (the queen) appears before her subjects seated naked on a throne, wearing a crown and attended by four thousand naked maid-servants standing behind her. I. Baṭṭūṭa (H. A. R. Gibb, *Ibn Battúta*, pp. 243 sqq.), who visited these islands in 1344 A.D., gives a detailed description of the customs and habits of the inhabitants of these islands. He says that the womenfolk did not cover their hands, not even their queens did so, and they combed their hair and gathered it on one side. Most of them wore only an apron from their waists to the ground, the rest of the body being uncovered. He says, 'When I held the qádíship there, I tried to put an end to this practice and ordered them to wear clothes, but I met with no success' (*ibid*, p. 244). He was surprised to find that the ruler of these islands was a woman named Khadīja, but before she came to the throne, her brother,

father and grandfather had ruled the island. After her brother's deposition and execution, she and her two younger sisters were the only survivors of the royal house. So she was raised to the throne. She was married to Jamāl al-Dīn, their preacher, who became Wazīr and the real holder of authority, but orders were issued in her name only. From the accounts of these writers it may be inferred that the ruler of these islands was usually a woman, but it is difficult to identify the queen *Dmhra* of our author. The name suggests a Hindu queen belonging to an early period.

'ĪL (or Ayul or Utl?). The information is taken from I. Ḥauqal, p. 326, but the data provided is so scanty that it is difficult to discuss with any certainty the identification of this name with any of the kings of India. However, the word *'īl* might represent the 'Ail' (lunar) race with which the Karddamakas were closely related. They were the ancestors of a Saka princess, possibly the daughter of the great satrap Rudradāman I According to H. C. Raychaudhuri, the influences of the Karddamakas may have been either in the valley of the Helmend or in the plains of the Jaxartes (see 'The Karddamaka Kings', in *I.H.Q.*, vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 37-39). Rudradāman I was the grandson of the Saka Chashtana, the founder of the second satrapy of the west in the first century A.D. He had his capital in Ujjain, which continued to be the capital of this dynasty. Rudradāman I extended the rule of the dynasty at some date between A.D. 126 and A.D. 150. His power was established all over western India -- Saurashtra, Mālwa, Cutch, Sind, Konkan and other districts. The rule of this dynasty seems to have lasted for about four centuries. 'The last notice of the satraps refers to the year A.D. 388, and the incorporation of their dominions in the Gupta empire must have been effected soon after that date' (Vincent A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, Oxford, 1914, pp. 291-92). It is possible that Rudradāman I or one of his descendants may have adopted 'Ail' as their family name or may have been popularly known by it.

JĀBA. See under *Towns and Regions*.

AL-JURZ. This name is derived from the original form *Gūrjara*, representing the Gūrjara-Pratihāra dynasty (see the introductory

part of this section above). In M. Sauvaget's opinion, الجُرْز is the abridged form of الجُرْزَر (*Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 12). The reading in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, pp. 383, 384, is الجزر, which Barbier de Meynard transliterates as 'Djozr (Guzerat)'. The word is generally used by Arab writers either in the sense of the title of the king or as the name of the people; I. Khur., pp. 16, 67 and Idrīsī: 'the king of al-Jurz'; Sulaymān and al-Mas'ūdī: 'the king of al-Jurz' who ruled over 'a tongue of the land', meaning thereby Kathiawar; I. Rusta, p. 135 and *Marvazī*, p. 35 (Ar. Text): 'the king called al-Jurz'. The anonymous author of *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (982 A.D.), on the other hand, states that al-Jurz was 'a country called after the name of its king' (*Ḥ.'A.*, p. 91). Of these writers, Sulaymān and al-Mas'ūdī visited India, the former more than once, in the early 9th century A.D., and the latter twice between 914 and 916 A.D., visiting Cambay and the coastal regions around it. They seem to have used the word 'al-Jurz' for the Gūrjara people. Cf. Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, pp. 250-51. He identifies the al-Jurz of *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* with the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra kings of Kanauj.

QĀMARŪN (*Qāmarūb < Kāmarūpa, i.e. Assam). Qāmarūn refers to the kingdom of Kāmarūpa in Assam. According to R. C. Majumdar, *Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 60-61, the dynasty of Sālambha (or Prālambha) ruled from c. A.D. 800 to c. 1000. Their capital was at Harūppeśvara on the bank of the Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra river. The kingdom probably included a part of North Bengal. Sālambha (or Prālambha) probably flourished at the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century A.D. See also Minorsky, *Marvazī*, p. 148; *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 240. See Qāmarūn, under *Mountains* and Kāramūt, under *Towns and Regions*.

QIMĀR. This is Khmer, i.e. Cambodia on the Me Kong. The Khmer Empire was formed in 802 A.D. and lasted till the middle of the 13th century (Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 241). The king of Khmer to whom Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Isḥāq refers in his report, the original source of information of Arab geographers on prohibition of adultery and wine in the Empire, may be the founder of the Empire, Jayavarman II (A.D. 802-69). See *Marvazī*, pp. 51, 153.

QINNAUJ. Idrīsī includes in the kingdom of Qinnauj (Kanauj), the towns of Qashmīr (Srinagar), Samundar (Samudra, north of Ganjam?) and Aṭrāsā (Karnāl in the Punjab [India]? see under *Towns and Regions*), and describes the king of Qinnauj as a glorious and powerful monarch with an extensive kingdom and possessing the largest number of elephants that any king of India had. He is described as mighty and dreaded by the adjoining princes. It is difficult to trace the origin of Idrīsī's information and hence to fix the exact date of the report (Tr. pp. 64, 65 §§ 41, 45, 50, 51). His description generally reflects the height of the rule of the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra dynasty between the second half of the ninth and the early decades of the tenth century, when these princes were the most powerful in Northern India. Idrīsī's account may have been based upon that of al-Jayhānī (became vazīr in A.D. 914). Idrīsī's king Qinnauj may be identified with Mihira Bhoja (c. A.D. 840-90) or with his son Mahendrapāla (c. 890-908). But it is not improbable that it may even refer to the early years of the reign of Mahīpāla, one of the sons of Mahendrapāla (c. 914-43). The towns mentioned by Idrīsī as being under the rule of Qinnauj suggest a very extensive empire spreading between the Bay of Bengal, Kashmir and the western Punjab. The Gūrjara-Pratīhāras captured Kanauj some time before A.D. 836. "Two of their ablest chiefs, Bhoja and Mahendrapāla, at last succeeded in re-establishing an empire in India that in extent rivalled, if it did not exceed, that of the Guptas and the Puṣpabhūtis" and the last of these two princes ruled over an area which extended from the Karnāl district in the Punjab to Bihar and from the Kathiawar peninsula to Northern Bengal (H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1931, I. pp. 569-70, 576-80). Again, in his Introduction to the above work, Ray points out that the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra empire embraced the whole of Northern India excepting Sind, western portions of the Punjab, Kashmir, Nepal, Assam and portions of Bengal, C.P., and Orissa (*ibid*., p. xxxvii). Mahendrapāla died soon after A.D. 907-908, and the decline of the dynasty set in soon after his death. He was succeeded by his son Bhoja II, who ruled for a very short period. He ceased to rule some time before A.D. 914, the first known date of

Mahīpāla. During the first part of his reign, Mahīpāla succeeded in preserving the mighty empire that was handed down to him by his predecessors. But some time between A.D. 915-918, Indra III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince of the South, invaded Northern India and captured Kanauj. From this time onwards the decline of the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras set in, and they lost their former power and glory (see H. C. Ray, *op.cit.*, pp. 571, 576, 579-81). If therefore Idrīsī's reference pertains to Mahīpāla's time, then it would allude to the period before the invasion from the South had taken place.

SULṬĀN BARQŪQ. This refers to al-Ẓāhir Sayf al-Dīn Barqūq, the Mamlūk Sulṭān of Egypt (1383-98). See P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London, 1949, pp. 694-95.

AL-ṬĀFIN. This is the country of *Ṭakka-deśa*, or *Ṭakka-viṣaya*. See under *Towns and Regions*.

2. PEOPLES AND TRIBES

BUDHA. Cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 319, 323-24, 326; Iṣṭ., pp. 171, 176, 178. Qazwīnī (*'Āthār*, p. 84) refers to these people as *Nudha* and compares them to the Jats of India. Hodīvālā (*I.M.H.*, pp. 33-34) says that Budha is the Budhiya of the *Chachnāma*. In Elliot's opinion 'the old tract of Budh, or Būdhiya, very closely corresponds with the modern province of Kachh Gandāva, on all four sides except the northern, where it seems to have acquired a greater extension, of which it is impossible to define the precise limits'. It is worthy of remark, he says, that in the very centre of *Kachh Gandāva*, there is still a place called Budha on the Nari river. As to the origin of the word Budha, he says that if it had any significant origin at all, it was derived from the possession of the Buddhist religion in its purity by the inhabitants of that remote tract, at the time when Brahmanism was making its quiet but steady inroads by the more open and accessible course of the river Indus (I, pp. 388, 389). Raverty prefers the reading *Nudha* to *Budha* and criticizes Elliot for prefering the latter form, but does not give any reasons for his own choice (*Mihrān*, p. 216). On the district of 'Budahah' see Le Strange, *Lands*, pp. 331-33.

KHARLUKH TURKS. 'The original name of the tribe is *Qarluq* (in

Chinese transcription *Ko-lo-lu*) but more frequently the earlier Muslim authors use the forms *Qarlukh* and *Khallukh* of which the latter (خلّخ) is very easily confused with *Khalaj* (خلج < Qalach)' (Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.*, p. 286; on Khallukh, see *ibid.*, pp. 286-88). Bīrūnī (*India*, I, p. 207) states that Kashmir suffered much from the invasions of the Turkish tribes called *Bhattavaryān*, whose main towns were Gilgit, Aswira and Shiltās.

AL-MAYD/AL-MAND(?) Cf. I. Ḥauqal, pp. 323-24: المید; I. Ḥauqal, ed. de Goeje, p. 231: المید. According to Bīrūnī the *Maydh* people were pirates and their dwellings extended between Daybul, Cutch and Kathiawar (ed. Togan, pp. 16, 72). See al-Mayd/al-Mand, under *Islands*. The Meds, writes Elliot (I, pp. 519-31), still exist (i.e. in 1867) on the borders of Sind and Jodhpur, as well as to the west in the little harbours of Makrān. Minorsky, in his article on Mand (*E.I.*, vol. III, pp. 236-237), has discussed the question of the Mand people. He points out that the derivation of the Arabic Mand from some such word as the "Māṇḍavya people (located in the centre, north and northwest of India)" mentioned in the *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā* is open to objection. "On the other hand", he says, "in Central India alongside of the Māṇḍavya the Medha are mentioned". The origin of these people and the locality to which they belonged is as yet uncertain. As to the question whether there was only one, or two peoples Maid and Mand, he points out that the statements of the Muslim authors seem to refer to a single people.

3. RELIGION

CASTES. The original term used for castes in India was *varṇa*, meaning 'colour'. The term is used by Bīrūnī (*India*, I, p. 100), who also mentions the word *jātaka*, which, he says, was applied from a genealogical point of view. Gardīzī, p. 627, used the Persian word '*gurūh*' (classes). It is possible that the word *ajnās* (pl. of *jins*) as used by Idrīsī represents the conception of *jātaka*. The caste system is a very ancient institution of India. Originally there were four main categories, viz.. Brāhmaṇas. Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, but gradually the divisions

and sub-divisions grew, and with the passage of time the social, religious and ethical differences accumulated and asserted themselves (see Williams, *Religious Thought* etc., p. 452 sqq.; Barnett, *Hinduism*, pp. 53-54; *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, article on *Caste* by E. A. Gait).

I. Khur., p. 71, seems to be Idrīsī's source on the castes, but some additional information in Idrīsī (Brahmans' wearing leopard-skins and giving sermons, etc.) points to some other source as well. He may have drawn his information from al-Jayhānī. See Introduction, discussion on sources. Like most Arab authors, he follows the same defective order of describing the castes, and the same incorrect classification, namely, into seven categories. The original report from which they borrowed their information probably contained these defects. The four principal castes are, no doubt, included in this classification, though the traditional order in which they should be enumerated is not maintained. See Bīrunī, *India*, I, pp. 99-104; Minorsky, *Marvazī*, pp. 123-4. The seven castes described by our author are discussed below in the same order as given by him (Tr. pp. 36-38, §§ 8-14).

1. AL-SĀKHARIYA (Variants: T. Cl. I, s. 10, § 8a: الساكويه – الشاكريه). Cf. I. Khur., p. 71: الشاكريّة. Nainar, p. 129, identifies them with *Satkṣatriya*, meaning the Kṣatriya who claim to be superior to the rest of the Kṣatriya caste. Barnett (*Hinduism*, p. 54) points out that although theoretically the Kṣatriya caste is the ruling caste, this has not always been the case. According to Minorsky (*Marvazī*, p. 124), it may be connected with the royal title 'Chakravarti' (as suggested by W. H. Bailey). Another possible identification is with the term *Śākyaputra* as applied to mediaeval Buddhist priests (Minorsky, *Gardīzī*, p. 627). Professor Muḥammad Shafī' has very kindly communicated to me a suggestion that this word might be التَّاكُرِيَّة (Thakurs) on the basis of the reading: التكاكرة in Balādhuri, p. 438; cf. *ibid.*, Glossarium, p. 19: تُكَّرى pl. تَكَاكِرَة, voc. Sanskr. *thakkura* (dominus). It seems to be a very tempting suggestion. In any

case the information given by Idrīsī implies rule and kingship.

2. AL-BARĀHIMA. These are the Brāhmaṇas. Monier Williams describes an order of Śaiva ascetics called *Daṇḍin*, or staff-bearers, ten divisions of whom, called *Daśa-nāmī Daṇḍins*, said to carry different forms of staff, are alleged to have been founded by Śaṅkarācārya (Williams, p. 87), and the fact that the god Śiva is sometimes represented as being clothed in the skin of a tiger (see *ibid.*, p. 81) may explain the information given by our author that these Brahmans dressed themselves in leopard skins. Nainar suggests that the people carrying staffs in their hands may be the Sanyasis, men of learning and heads of monasteries, where they have a number of disciples under instruction and training for religious discussion (Nainar, p. 130).

3. AL-K.SATRIYA. Cf. *Marvazī*, T., p. 26; *Gardīzī*, p. 627. These are the Kṣatriyas, the second or ruling caste of the four castes of Manu. According to Gardīzī, they do not drink wine more than thrice (at a time), see *Gardīzī*, p. 627.

4. AL-SHŪDIYA (*SHŪDRIYA). These are the Śūdras. Cf. *Marvazī*, T., p. 26; *Gardīzī*, p. 627.

5. AL-FASIYA (*AL-BAYSHIYA). Cf. I. Khur., p. 71: *al-Bayshiya*; *Marvazī*, T., p. 27. These are the Vaiśyas.

6. AL-SANDĀLIYA. These are the Caṇḍālas. Cf. *Gardīzī*, p. 627; *Marvazī*, T., p. 27. Bīrūnī counts this caste and the Dombas, the Hādī and Badhatau (Dheṛ?) as not reckoned amongst any caste or guild, and as occupied with dirty work. They are considered as one single separate class (Bīrūnī, *India*, I, p. 101).

7. AL-R.K.BA (*AL-DHUNBIYA, cf. I. Khur., p. 71). The readings of this name appear in Idrīsī in various mutilated forms. The correct reading is not given. These are the Dombas, a Dravidian race regarded as a low and polluting class (Nainar, p. 133). Cf. *Marvazī*, T., p. 27; *Gardīzī*, pp. 627-8.

FORTY-TWO SECTS:

Stone-worshippers. According to Nainar, the carved stones may refer to the erection of unhewn stones for worship on the wayside by travellers in places far off from regular temples. The deification of a soul is supposed to take place in them (Nainar, p. 122). It is also possible that these stones may refer

to the Liṅga (phallus), the image of Śiva. A category of these images is called *svayambhū*, that is, existing spontaneously. They are either not carved at all or very slightly moulded into shape, and are considered to be the most sacred of all material objects of adoration (Williams, p. 69). As for the stones referred to as الكدسة by Idrīsī, Nainar has rendered its translation as 'heaps of stones'. Jaubert (I, p. 99) has rendered it as 'augurale', probably reading it as القدسة. But I have not come across this variant in any of the MSS. of Idrīsī's work consulted by me.

Fire-worshippers. This refers to the sect who perform *agni-hotrā* "an oblation to Agni" (Minorsky, *Marvazī*, T., p. 32; *ibid.*, Comm., p. 138). Cf. Barnett, p. 5. As for the information that these worshippers burnt themselves in fire, see Minorsky, who corrects a similar piece of information in Gardīzī (see *Gardīzī*, p. 636; *Marvazī*, p. 138). It is possible that the practices of some of the ascetics of India of burning themselves or cutting off their limbs and casting them in the fire are confused with the pure worship of fire by this sect. (See *Gardīzī*, pp. 638-9). Then again, the practice of *sati* may have been confused with it. Such self-torturings are referred to by S͟hahrastānī, pp. 455, 456; Naubak͟htī, *Firaq*, p. لك.

Sun-worshippers. These seem to be the *Āditya-bhakta*, 'the worshippers of the Āditya', the sun being one of the Ādityas (Barnett, p. 18). Viṣṇu typifies the journeying sun; he is a gracious deity, a worker of the power of right and divine order (see *ibid.*, pp. 9-10). Cf. *Gardīzī*, p. 637: **Āditya-Bhaktī*, i.e. 'Sun-worshippers'. See also Nainar, p. 125, note 71.

Tree-worshippers. These must refer to S͟hahrastānī's *barkas-hīkiyya* (**vṛkṣabhaktiya*), i.e. 'worshippers of the trees'. 'The adepts of this sect chose one of the tallest and most luxuriant trees growing in the mountains, hollowed out in it a niche for their idol and then prostrated themselves before the tree and circumambulated it' (Minorsky, *Marvazī*, p. 130). On tree-worship in India and different types of holy trees, see Barnett, p. 48; Williams, pp. 330-39.

Serpent-worshippers. Serpents are connected with the Nāgas, a mythological race, half human and half serpent, who dwell beneath the earth, and with Śesha, the great serpent on which

Vishnu sleeps during part of the year (Barnett, pp. 47-48). Bīrūnī describes the Nāga as one of the eight classes of spiritual beings (Bīrūnī, *India*, I, p. 91). On serpents and serpent-worship, see Williams, pp. 233, 237, 319-26.

IDOLS. *The Idol of Gold* in Ceylon (Tr. p. 28, § 24). Cf. Abū Zayd, II, p. 122; *Abrégé*, p. 63; *Akhbār al-Zamān*, p. 40. The last two give the weight of gold and precious stones on this idol as 100 *raṭls*. Ma Huan saw in one of the temples of Ceylon a full-length recumbent figure of Buddha. The dais on which the figure reposed was inlaid with all kinds of precious stones (Yule, II, p. 322, note 1).

The Idol of Multān. I. Ḥauqal, p. 321, and Iṣṭ., p. 174, give a picture of the location of the temple and of the idol, but the grandeur and the beauty of the dome as described by Idrīsī seem to be something of his own, and suggest an independent source of information. The idol (Tr., pp. 49-50, §§ 54-60) was that of the Sun-god Āditya. Hsüan Tsang visited this temple in A.D. 641, and according to his description the statue was made of pure gold and adorned with precious and rare things. The worship, he says, dated from time immemorial (Cunningham, *Ar. Sur. I.*, V, p. 115). It seems that after I. Ḥauqal wrote his account, from which Idrīsī copied, the idol was broken to pieces and the temple converted into a mosque by the Qarmaṭians. Later they were restored again by the Hindus. Thus when Idrīsī was writing his account of India, the worship of the idol was again flourishing (see Cunningham, *ibid.*, pp. 117-119; for images of the Sun-god, see *ibid.*, Plate xxxvii). Cunningham fixed the position of this temple on the site of the Friday mosque in the Fort. He saw the ruins of this mosque. As for the period of the building of the idol, I. Ḥauqal does not refer to it, but I. Rust., p. 136, says that it is believed that it was built 2000 years ago. Cf. *Marvazī*, T., p. 48. Bīrūnī (*India*, I, pp. 116-17) calculates the time that elapsed up to the destruction of the idol by the Qarmaṭians as 216,000 years, but expresses doubt if the wood of which the idol was made could have survived for such a long period, especially in the climate of Multān. According to Cunningham, the date of the construction of this temple falls somewhere about A.D. 500 (see *Ar. Sur. I.*, V, pp. 120-24). The original reading in the beginning of § 59 (T. Cl. II, s. 7) as found

in Idrīsī's MSS. is: 'No one in India or Sind worships idols except those who belong to this temple etc.' This has been replaced by the reading in I. Ḥauqal, p. 321 (cf. Iṣṭ., p. 174), for it seemed to convey a wrong impression of idol-worship in India, and was evidently carelessly copied from I. Ḥauqal. Qazwīnī's report (*'Āthār*, p. 81) on the authority of Mis'ar b. al-Muhalhil that in Multān there were no idol-worshippers except those who lived in this temple, is further evidence necessitating a correction of the text. From these reports it may be inferred that the majority of the inhabitants of Multān at this time were non-idolators. On the introduction of sunworship in Multān, see Nandolal Dey, *I.A.*, p. 133 (1923). Again, Idrīsī's statement that whenever the neighbouring kings of India intended to destroy Multān and carry away the idol from there, the attendants of the idol concealed it and threatened to demolish or burn it, shows that he misunderstood his source of information. Qazwīnī, *'Āthār*, p. 81, states that whenever there was an attack from India, the Muslims took the idol out. Iṣṭ., p. 174, also says that they took it out. Cf. I. Ḥauqal, p. 322. As the idol was a great source of revenue for the Arab rulers of Multān, it is more likely that in the event of an attack from the neighbouring Indian princes (most probably belonging to the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra dynasty), who wished to conquer Multān or carry away the idol from there, it was the Muslims, and not the 'attendants' as stated by al-Idrīsī, who threatened the invaders with the burning or destruction of the idol, should they persist in their invasions. This might have dissuaded the invaders from attacking Multān, for they must have preferred to withdraw rather than see the idol destroyed by the Arabs. It is at the same time evidence of the military weakness of the rulers of Multān, who were forced to adopt such tactics and to play upon the religious feelings of the invading princes.

JALAHAKTIYA (*JALABHAKTĪ). Cf. *Gardīzī*, p. 636. According to Gardīzī this sect believed that "on the waters there is an angel and water is the origin of all plants and animals". Idrīsī has either misunderstood his source of information or the source itself was faulty. He has applied the term **jalabhakt* to the angel of water, for which there seems to be no basis, and has

assumed that these people are so called after the name of the angel. Again, from Gardīzī's description the whole ceremony seems to be a common form of worship, whereas our author confines it to those people who commit a sin. See Aṭrāghā, under *Towns and Regions.*

POLEMICS ON RELIGIONS (Tr. p. 28, § 23). Cf. Abū Zayd, p. 122; *Abrégé*, p. 63; *Akhbar al-Zamān*, p. 40. Referring to Abū Zayd's account, Nainar, p. 114, says that it may refer to the assemblies of the learned Buddhists in Ceylon.

4. CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES

CREMATION AND BURIAL. Cremation was, and still is, a common practice in India, but the information contained in § 24 (Tr. p. 62) is rather strange. Some people under the influence of Islam may have observed the practice of burying their dead ones secretly under cover of night for fear of being detected and declared outcasts by other Hindus. I have not been able to identify these people; but on the burial of the dead ones, see Hopkins, p. 364, Williams, p. 274 sqq.

FORNICATION AND MARRIAGE. The statement that fornication is permissible (Tr. p. 62, § 25) is not correct, unless the word 'fornication' is used for the form of marriage called '*gāndharva*', which was lawful for Kṣatriyas (see Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, p. 250). Nainar points out that perhaps the Arabs did not fully understand the various forms of marriage which the Hindu law takes cognizance of. Some of these forms do appear unlawful from the Muslim point of view, and hence the sweeping statements of these writers. With regard to the statement in the following § 26, Nainar says (p. 104) that such statements are quite untrue with regard to any period of Indian history. Idrīsī has uncritically recorded the information, the source of which is not known.

SITTING DHARNĀ. The practice described in § 18 (Tr. p. 60) is a description of the old Hindu custom known as 'sitting dharnā' (Hodīvālā, p. 68). It is described by travellers as having been common in Malabar (see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. viii, p. 267). Cf. *Marco Polo*, Yule, II, p. 343 (London, 1926). According to the Rev. Dr. Caldwell, this custom was still practised during his

time amongst the poorer classes in remote parts of India. Idrīsī's account seems to be based on hearsay. He omits one detail, namely, that the name of a particular deity was imprecated upon the debtor, who was supposed to have been cursed by this divinity if he left the circle without paying the debt.

THEFT. Cf. Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 24: 'Theft whether big or small is punished by execution in all the lands of India and China.'

WINES. Cf. I. Khur., pp. 66-7. He speaks of the importing of wine from 'Irāq into Ceylon, but does not mention its import from Fārs. Cf. I. Rust., p. 132; *Marvazī*, tr., p. 46. On 'cooked wine' (Tr. p. 29, § 30), see Abū Zayd, II, p. 123. According to him this wine was made of 'the honey of the bee' and fresh seeds of *al-dādhī* (a grain resembling barley, but longer and thinner, and bitter in taste, *ibid.*, p. 55, note 199). The text in Abū Zayd reads: الشراب المطبوخ من عسل النخل (*sic*) بحبّ الداذى. The wine referred to here seems to be the wine of the palm-tree, and the word *al-dādhī* resembles the word *tāṛī* (toddy). Idrīsī mentions cardamom seeds instead. Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*, p. 8, speaks of the coconut-wine being used in the Nicobar islands and says that if it is drunk soon after it is extracted from the coconut tree, it is as sweet as honey, but if it is left for an hour it turns into wine, and if it is left for several days it turns into vinegar. This is obviously a description of toddy.

5. ARTS AND CRAFT

DRAWING AND PAINTING. On the art of drawing as practised in India (Tr. pp. 73-74, § 1), we have an interesting report given by Buzurg b. Shahriyār (*'Ajā'ib al-Hind*, p. 98). He says that one of the kings of India drew a picture of a certain Muḥammad b. Bābshād because he held a prominent position among the captains of the sea. It was, he says, customary amongst them (the Indians) to draw prominent people of all walks of life. Marvazī, speaking of the Chinese, says, "With them the art of (making) images is held as (divine) worship and approach to God." (*Marvazī*, tr., p. 15). 'The reigns of Dharmapāla and Devapāla [of Bengal], extending over more than a century, from about A.D. 780 to

892, were a period of marked intellectual and artistic activity. Two artists of that time, Dhīmān and his son Bitpālo (Vitapāla), acquired the highest fame for their skill as painters, sculptors, and bronze-founders. Some works of their school are believed to be extant' (Vincent A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, Oxford, 1924, p. 417). Cf. Rāzī, pp. 27-28, who mentions that the Chinese especially venerated the art of painting (صنعة تصوير), which is considered a form of worship by them.

APPENDIX A

COINS, WEIGHTS, MEASURES AND DISTANCES

BUHĀR (or Bahār = *Bhār < Ssk. Bhāra, 'a load'. See *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 47). Different values are assigned to this weight by different Arab writers.

According to I. K͟hur., who is the source of al-Idrīsī's information, 1 *bahār* = 333 *mann*; and the total weight of the 40 *bahār* of gold acquired in Multān was equal to 2,397,600 *mit͟hqāl* (I. K͟hur., p. 56). Accordingly, 1 *mann* = 180 *mit͟hqāl*, and 1 *bahār* = 59,940 *mit͟hqāl*. Al-Idrīsī gives 1 *mann* = 260 *dirham*. Taking 10 *dirham* = 7 *mit͟hqāl* (Bīrūnī, *India*, I, p. 160) 1 *bahār* of 333 *mann* would contain 60,606 *mit͟hqāl*.

A very different number of *mit͟hqāl* to the *bahār* can be calculated from al-Bīrūnī's data. According to him 1 *bhāra* = 2,000 *pala* (*India*, I, p. 165). 1 *pala* = 64 *mās͟ha* (*ibid.*, pp. 162-3), i.e. $5\frac{1}{3}$ *tōla*, there being 12 *mās͟has* to the *tōla*, and 1 *tōla* = $2\frac{1}{10}$ *mit͟hqāl* (*ibid.*, p. 160). Therefore, 1 *pala* = $11\frac{1}{5}$ *mit͟hqāl*. Thus, 1 *bhāra* of 2000 *pala* would be equal to 22,400 *mit͟hqāl*.

Al-Bīrūnī's *bhāra* of 2,000 *pala* would give a modern equivalent of $311\frac{1}{9}$ lbs. Troy, taking 1 *pala* = $5\frac{1}{3}$ *tōla*, 1 *tōla* = 168 grains (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 928). According to al-Idrīsī's information that 1 *bahār* = 333 *mann* and 1 *mann* = 260 *dirham*, we find that the modern equivalent of 1 *bahār* would be approximately 257 kgs., taking 1 *dirham* = 2.97 grammes (See Dirham, below).

Al-Bīrūnī mentions that the *bhāra* was nearly equal to the

load of an ox (and not "to the weight of an ox" as translated by Sachau, see *India*, I, p. 165).

De Goeje's footnote (I. Khur., Tr., p. 38, note 2) giving 1 *mann* = 7,200 *mithqāl* is erroneous. He had evidently divided the total number of *mithqāl* in 40 *bhāra* of gold by the number of *mann* in 1 *bhāra*.

See also *E.I.*, vol. I, p. 575.

DIRHAM. The *dirham* used in al-Manṣūra mentioned as being equal to five *dirham* is called by I. Ḥauqal *al-qandahāriyyāt* (ed. de Goeje, p. 228). Cf. Iṣṭ., p. 173: *al-qāhiriyyat* and Muqaddasī, p. 482: *al-qāhiriyyāt* (variant: *al-qanhariyyāt*). Our author does not mention this name. The *ṭāṭariyya dirham* (< Gr. τετραδραχμα, see M. J. de Goeje, *Indices, Glossarium*, etc., B. G. A. IV, p. 286) was $1\frac{1}{8}$ of a *dirham* according to I. Ḥauqal (ed. de Goeje, p. 228) and $1\frac{3}{8}$ of it according to Iṣṭ., p. 173 and Muqaddasī, p. 482. The usual weight of the *dirham* in the days of Islam was 2.97 grammes (see *E.I.*: Dirham).

DISTANCES. Al-Idrīsī has often altered or miscalculated the distances given in his sources. Here are some examples:

Miscalculations:		I. Khur.
Māsūrjān to Dirak-Yāmūna,	Tr. p. 54 § 81: 141 mls.	- p. 55: 48 *fars.*
Dirak-Yāmūna to Firbūz,	Tr. p. 54 § 82: 175 mls.	- p. 55: 58 *fars.*

Alterations:		I. Ḥauqal
Manṣūra to the first limits of Budha,	Tr. p. 52 § 72: 6 *marḥ.*	- p. 327: 5 *marḥ.*
From the first limits of Budha to Tīz,	Tr. p. 53 § 72: 16 *marḥ*	- p. 327: 15 *marḥ.*
Qandābīl to Manṣūra,	Tr. p. 53 § 75: ab. 10 *m.*	- p. 327: ab. 8 *m.*
Māmuhul to Manṣūra,	Tr. p. 54 § 89: 9 *marḥ.*	- p. 327: 8 *marḥ.*
Māmuhul to Kanbāya,	Tr. p. 54 § 90: 5 *marḥ.*	- p. 327: 4 *marḥ.*
Fulfahra to Rāsk,	Tr. p. 48 § 47: 2 *marḥ.*	- p. 326: 3 *marḥ.*
		I. Khur.
Sarandīb to Lankabālūs,	Tr. p. 32 § 42: 10 days	p. 66: 10 to
Sarandīb to Lankabālūs,	Tr. p. 34 § 48: 10 *majrās* -	15 days
Sindān to Malay,	Tr. p. 56 § 102: 5 miles in the sea -	p. 62: 5 days' journey

AL-WAD' (COWRY-SHELLS). This is *Cypraea moneta*, or money-cowry. It is most abundant in the Indian Ocean, and is collected more particularly in the Maldive Islands, in Ceylon, along the Malabar coast, etc. (see *Encyc. Brit.*, under *Cowry* and *Shell-Money*). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives its rate of exchange on the Maldive Islands as 400,000 = 1 gold dinar, often falling to 1,200,000 to the dinar (Gibb, *Ibn Battúta*, p. 243).

APPENDIX B

LIST OF PLACE-NAMES AND THEIR IDENTIFICATION

* Identified † Tentatively identified
? Not identified

	Towns and Regions:	*Modern equivalents*
†	ABD.DHY	Apartote or Karativoe (Ceylon)
*	AGHNĀ	Arippu (Ceylon)
†	ARMĀBĪL	Las Bela (Baluchistan)
*	ARZALĀN	Rudbar (Afghanistan)
*	ASĀWAL	Āśāpallī, near Ahmedabad (Bombay State)
?	ASNĀN.D	West of Coringa (Andhra Pradesh)
?	AṬRĀGHĀ	On the Song-Koi in the Tong-King province of Indo-China or in East Pakistan.
?	AṬRĀGHAN	Probably a dittography for Aṭrāghanā (Aṭrāghā)
†	AṬRĀSĀ	Karnal (East Punjab)
?	ATRĪ (*ANNARĪ)	East of the Indus, on the road from Manṣūra to Multān
	AUDUGHUST	(In al-Maghrib)
*	'AYDHĀB	Aidip (Red Sea)
*	BALĪN (*QANBALĪ)	See Qanbalī
*	BĀMĪRAMĀN	Brahmanābādh. See Manṣūra (Sind)
?	BĀNIYA	North of the Great Rann of Cutch, in the neighbourhood of Umarkot (Sind)
*	BARŪJ	Broach (Bombay State)

† BIH	Geh (Makrān, Iran)
* BIND	Bint (Makrān, Iran)
? BRUNSHLY	In Ceylon
? B.SM.D.	In the neighbourhood of Khanpur (West Pakistan)
? B.THRĪ (*BULRĪ)	West of the Indus, near Rohri (Sind)
† DADA	Dhar (Madhya Pradesh)
DANDAMA	*(On the East coast of Africa)*
* DAYBUL	Near Karachi (Sind)
? DIRAK-YĀMŪNA	Yakmina, lat. 28° N., long. 61° E.
* DIZAK	South-west of Jalq (Iran)
* DŌLQA	Dholka, south-west of Ahmedabad (Bombay State)
* FAHRAJ	About 20 miles north of Regān and south-east of Kerman (Iran)
* FANDARAYNA	Pantalāyini, or Pantalāyini Kollam, north of Quilandi (Kerala)
* FĪRBŪZ	At the site of present Panjgur (Baluchistan)
* FOROSQŪRĪ	Batticaloa (Ceylon)
* FULFAHRA	Iranshahr (Fahrej), north-east of Bampur (Iran)
? ḤĀM.RY	In Ceylon
? ḤASAK	In Afghanistan — Kushk, north-east of Herat?
† AL-ḤAUR	In the neighbourhood of Jhau or Khair, near Karachi
? 'IL	In Baluchistan
* JĀBA	Chamba (Himachal Pradesh)
* JANĀWAL	Chunwal, old name of the district around Viramgam (Bombay State)
JANṬAMA	(On the East coast of Africa)
? JIRBATTAN	Srikandapuram, 10 miles east of Taliparamba or south of the Coromandal coast
* JUNDŪR	About a mile and a half east of the fortress of Multan (West Punjab)
* KANBĀYA	Cambay (Bombay State)

? KANJA	Ganjam or Conjeevaram
* KĀRAMŪT	Kamrup (Assam)
? KAS͟HAD	In Baluchistan?
* KĒH	Geh (Makrān, Iran)—same as Bih
* K͟HĀBĪRŪN	Kapadvanj (Bombay State)
† K͟HARŪJ	District in Makrān, of which the town was Rāsk
* K͟HĪR (*JIZAH)	Gizah (Afghanistan)
? K͟HŪ-KAK͟HLIYĀ	On the road between Gandawa and Mastang (Baluchistan)
* K͟HUWĀS͟H	Khash on the bank of the river of the same name (Afghanistan)
* KĪRKĀYĀN (*QUZDĀR)	Khuzdar (Baluchistan)
* KĪZ	Kēch (Makrān, Baluchistan)
* KĪZKĀNĀN	Kalat (Baluchistan)
† KL.KSĀR	Cahlacory, north-east of Cranganore (Kerala)
† KLK.YĀN/KLYKĀN	Calingapatam (east coast of India) or to the south of the Periyar (south-west coast of India)
? KNBLY	In Ceylon
† KSK.HĀR	Kākar Bakira, near Mirpur Sākra (Sind)
* KŪLAM MALAY	Quilon (Kerala)
† KŪLĪ	Kodinar, north-west of Diu or Kori Creek (Bombay State)
* KULWĀN	Kolwah, south-east of the river Lob, in lat. 26° 0′ N., long. 64° 0′ E. (Baluchistan)
* al-KUMKAM	Konkan (Bombay State)
? KŪS͟HA	On the road from Khuzdar to the bank of the Mihrān.
* KUS͟HDĀN	Same as Quzdār (Khuzdar)
* LAHĀVAR	Lahore (West Punjab)
LAMṬA	(In al-Mag͟hrib)
? LŪLAWĀ	Near Ganjam?
? LŪQĪN	Lung-Pien in Tonkin, south-east of Hanoi or near the mouth of the Hooghly

† MĀDYĀR	*Mathura (Uttar Pradesh)*
* MĀKHAULŪN	Bintenne (Ceylon)
? MĀLŪN	Town in Sind?
† MĀLWA	Ujjain or Mandū (Madhya Pradesh)
† MĀMUHUL	Bhinmal (Rajasthan)
* MANĪBĀR	Malabar (Kerala)
† MANJĀBRĪ	Bhanbor, east of Karachi (Sind)
* MANṢŪRA/MANṢŪRIYYA	Ruins of the town 47 miles to the north-east of Hyderabad (Sind)
* MARBAṬ	(Between Ḥaḍramaut and ʿUmān, Southern Arabia)
* MARQĀYĀ	Mantote (Ceylon)
? MĀSAKĀN	In Ṭuērān (Baluchistan)
* MASHKAY	District of Mashkēl (also Mashkēdh)
* al-MAṢṢĪṢA	On the river Ceyhan, east of Adana (Turkey)
* MASTANJ	Mastang, north of Kalat (Baluchistan)
* MĀSŪRJĀN	Regān in the Narmāshīr province of Kerman
? MASWĀM (*MASWĀHĪ?)	Lay to the west of the Mihrān (Sind)
? MĀS.W.YĀ	Agasha at the mouth of the Surya river, north of Bassein (Bombay State)?
? MAURYDAS	In Madhya Pradesh?
? M.ḤYĀK	In Ṭuērān (Baluchistan)?
* MULTĀN	Multan (West Punjab)
† MUNHA	Lohrānī, near Karachi (Sind)
† MURŪNA	Arukgam Bay or Patuwila (Ceylon)
? MYDRA	In Assam?
* NAHRWĀRA	Patan (Bombay State)
† NĪRŪN	At the site of present Hyderabad (Sind)
? N.JA	
† N.YĀST (*TĀNESAR)	Thanesar (East Punjab)
? QADĪRĀ	On the road from Khuzdar to the bank of the Mihrān
† QALAMĀDHĪ	Tondi Manaar or Challe (Ceylon)
? QĀLĪRŪN	
? QĀLLARĪ	About 40 miles north of Hyderabad (Sind)

*	QANBALĪ	Khayrokot (Baluchistan)
*	QANDĀBĪL	Gandawa (Baluchistan)
*	QANDAHĀR	Ghandhār (Gulf of Cambay, Bombay State)
?	QĀQULĀ	Dacca (East Pakistan) or Pegu?
*	QASHMĪR	Kashmir Valley
*	QAṢRQAND	Qasrqand, north of Chahbar (Iran)
*	QAṬĪGHŌRĀ	Kian-chi in the Gulf of Tong-King
*	QINNAUJ	Kanauj (Uttar Pradesh)
*	QUZDĀR	Khuzdar (Baluchistan)
*	AL-RĀHŪN	Dashtak (Baluchistan)
*	RĀSK	At the site of the town of Sarbaz (Iran)
*	RASNĀND/RASTĀND	Same as Asnān.d
*	AL-RŌR	Ruins near Rohri (Sind)
*	SADŪSĀN	See Sharūsān
?	SAMUNDAR	Between Ganjam and Baruva (Orissa) or in the delta of the Ganges
†	SANDŪNĀ	Chilaw (Ceylon)
?	SANDŪRĀ	Probably same as Sandūnā
*	ṢAYMŪR/SAYMŪR	Chaul in the Kolaba District (Bombay State). Another town of the same name is probably Sihor, 18 miles south of Bhavnagar in Kathiawar
*	SHARŪSĀN/SADŪSĀN	Sehwan (Sind)
†	SINDĀBŪR	Siddhāpur, south of Goa
*	SINDĀN	Sanjān, 50 miles north of Thana (Bombay State)
?	SINDŪR	East of Bahawalpur (West Pakistan)?
?	ṢINJĪ	Cranganore (Kerala) or on the east coast of India
*	SŪBĀRA	Sopārā, near Bassein in the Thana District (Bombay State)
*	SUFĀLA	(Sofāla, south of Beira, east coast of Africa)
*	SŪRA	Shora-rud, the name of the lower course of the Kalat river (Baluchistan)
*	AL-ṬĀFIN (AL-ṬĀQIN)	Ṭakka-deśa
*	TĀNA	Thana (Bombay State)

† ṬARĪGHYŪQIN	Comilla (East Pakistan)
? TATA/THABA	In Madhya Pradesh
* TĪZ	In the bay of Chahbar, to the west of Chahbar village (Makrān, Iran)
* ṬUĒRĀN	The region around Khuzdar in the eastern parts of the Kalat state (Baluchistan)
* ṬUKHĀRISTĀN	District that lay to the eastward of Balkh, stretching along the south of the Oxus as far as Badakhshan
? TYBRY	In Ceylon
? ŪRĪSĪN	In Orissa, not identified
* UṢQUFA	Ispaka, south of Bampur (Iran)
† W.NDĀN	'Sipauend', east of Dizek (Baluchistan)
ZAWĪLA	(In al-Maghrib)

Mountains:

* ALAMRĪ	Rāmni (Sumatra)
* KUSAYR AND ʿUWAYR	Near Cape Masandam (Persian Gulf)
† LŪN.YĀ	Middle section of the Western Ghats
* QĀMARŪN (*QĀMARŪB)	Kamrup, probably the ranges in Bhutan, north of the Goalpara and Kamrup districts of Assam
* AL-RUHŪN	Adam's Peak (Ceylon)
* SALT MOUNTAIN	Bāmpusht Koh (Makrān)
† THE SURROUNDING MOUNTAIN	Eastern ranges of the Himalayas or Khasi and Jaintiya Hills of Assam
* ŪNDIRAN	The Vindhya Range

Deserts and arid zones:

* The Desert of Multan	The great elevated plateau extending from a few miles to the east of the Indus to the left bank of the Beas
* Desert between Māmuhul, Kanbāya, Daybul & Bāniya	South-west of the Thar Desert, stretching between Karachi and Cambay, including the Great and the Little Rann of Cutch

* Desert between Ṭuērān and Manṣūra and Ṭuērān and Sijistān	Regions along the Kithar Range and the Helmand Desert

Rivers:

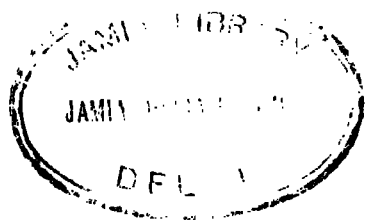
? BIHANK	The Meghna river (East Pakistan) or the Song-Koi in Indo-China
? M.SLĪ	The Godāvarī or Krishna
* MIHRĀN	Lower course of the Indus
* MULTĀN, the river of,	A small branch of the Ravi

Seas and Gulfs:

† AL-AGHBĀB	Region opposite to Ceylon, on the Indian coast
† AL-AKHWĀR	Same as al-Aghbāb
* AL-DURDŪR	Cape Masandam at the entrance of the Persian Gulf
* HARKAND	Bay of Bengal
* AL-LĀRWĪ	Eastern stretches of the Arabian Sea along the coast of India
* ṢANF SEA	Sea of Indo-China

Islands:

† ANB.RIYA	One of the islands of the Maldives (Ptolemy's Eirenē)
? BALĪKH/BALĪQ	Same as Ballīn (see below)
? BALLĪN	On the south-western coast of India, in the Tanjore District
* AL-BAYNIMĀN	Nias, west of Sumatra
? BLBQ	Same as Ballīn (see above)
* DAYBUL	See Daybul under Towns and Regions
* DĪBAJĀT	The Maldives and the Laccadives
* JĀLŪS (*BĀLŪS)	Baros, lying on the south-western coast of Sumatra
† KALA	Kedah, on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula at 6° N. lat.
* KĪSH	Qays in the Persian Gulf

* KŪLAM MALAY	Quilon (Kerala), see also under Towns and Regions
* MALAY/MANĪBĀR	Malabar (Kerala)
† AL-MAYD	Cutch or Kathiawar
? AL-M.SKHĀ	Along the Coromandal coast?
† OYKMAN	Okha (Okhamandal), Kathiawar
* QUMR	Madagascar
* AL-RĀMĪ	Sumatra
? SAMUNDAR	Parikud Islands on the Chilka Lake (Orissa)
* SARANDĪB	Ceylon. (The towns of Ceylon are included in Towns and Regions above in alphabetical order).
? SINDĀN	Bassein? (Bombay State)
* THE SMALL ISLANDS	The Maldives and the Laccadives
? S.NĀSĀ	South of Comilla, in the Delta of the Ganges?
* THĀRA (*BĀRA)	A legendary island
* ŪRĪSĪN	Region lying to the north of the lower course of the Mahanadi river (Orissa)
* ZĀBAJ	Java

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abrégé — Carra de Vaux, *L'Abrégé des Merveilles*, Paris, 1898.

Abu 'l-Fidā, Text, *Taqwīm* — *Géographie d'Aboulféda*. Arabic Text. Edited by M. Reinaud and M. de Slane, Paris, 1840.

Abū Zayd — *Relation des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine* (*Silsilat al-Tawārīkh*), the account of Sulaymān the Merchant written in A.D. 851 and completed by Abū Zayd Ḥasan towards A.D. 916, Arabic text by Langlès (1811) with commentary and French translation by M. Reinaud, 2 vols., Paris, 1845. See Ferrand, *Voyage* and Sulaymān, below.

'Ajā'ib al-Hind — Buzurg ibn Shahriyār, *Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al-Hind. Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*. Arabic text by P. A. van der Lith and French translation by L. Marcel Devic, Leiden, 1883-86.

Akhbār al-Ṣīn — See Sulaymān, below.

Akhbār al Zamān — *Akhbār al-Zamān wa man abādahu 'l-ḥadathān*, etc. by Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī, edited by 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣāwī, Cairo, A.D. 1938.

Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* — *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān* by Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1866.

Barnett, *Hinduism* — Lionel David Barnett, *Hinduism*, London, 1906.

Berthelot, *L'Asie* — André Berthelot, *L'Asie Ancienne Centrale et Sud-Orientale d'après Ptolémée*, Paris, 1930.

BGA — *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum.*

Bhandarkar — *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, vol. III. (Comprising Early History of the Deccan and Miscellaneous Essays), edited by N. B. Utgikar, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1927.

Bīrūnī, Ar.T. — *Alberuni's India* (c. A.D. 1030), Arabic Text, edited by Edward Sachau, London, 1887.

Bīrūnī, *India* — *Alberuni's India* by Edward Sachau, 2 vols., London, 1910.

Bīrūnī, ed. Togan — *Bīrūnī's Picture of the World* (*Ṣifat al-Ma'mūra 'ala 'l-Bīrūnī*), edited by A. Zeki Validī Togan, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 53, containing selections from al-Bīrūnī's: 1. *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, 2. *Taḥdīd nihāyāt al-amākin li-taṣḥīḥ masāfāt al-masākin*, 3. *al-Jamāhir fī ma'rifat al-Jawāhir* and 4. *al-Ṣaydana*.

BSOAS — Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

Cousens, *Ant. Sind* — H. Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, Calcutta, 1929, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. 46.

Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*[1] — Alexander Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, London, 1871.

Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*[2] — Alexander Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, Re-edited by S. M. Sastri, Calcutta, 1924.

Cunningham, *Ar. Sur. I.* — Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India*, Report of the year 1872-73, vol. V, Calcutta, 1875.

Cunningham, J. Clinton — *Products of the Empire*, Oxford, 1928.

Description de l'Afrique — *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, par Edrîsî*: Arabic text, translation and glossary by R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1866.

Dimashqī, Mehren — Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, *Nukhbat al-Dahr fī 'Ajā'ib al-Barr wa 'l-Baḥr, Manuel de la Cosmographie du moyen âge*, translated by M. A. F. Mehren, Copenhague, 1874.

Dozy — R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, Leiden 1881, 2 vols.

E.I. — *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, 1st edition.

Elliot — Sir H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The History of India, as told by its own historians*, vol. I, London, 1867.

Encyc. Brit. — *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (ed. 1955).

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

Ferrand, *Relations de Voyages, Relations* — Gabriel Ferrand, *Relations de Voyages et Textes Géographiques*, etc., Paris, 1913, 1914, 2 vols.

Ferrand, *Voyage* — *Voyage du Marchand Arabe Sulaymân en Inde et en Chine, rédigé en* 851, *suivi de remarques par Abû Zayd Ḥasan* (*vers* 916), by Gabriel Ferrand, Paris, 1922. See Abū Zayd and Sulaymān.

Fihrist — Ibn al-Nadīm, Abu 'l-Faraj Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Gustav Flügel, Leipzig, 1871.

Gardīzī — *Gardīzī on India* by V. Minorsky (BSOAS, 1948, XII/3 & 4).

Geography — *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*, translated and edited by E. L. Stevenson, New York, 1932.

Gibb, *Ibn Battûta* — *Ibn Battûta, Travels in Asia and Africa*, (1325-54), translated and selected by H. A. R. Gibb, London, 1953.

Gūrjara Deśa — *Glory that was Gūrjara Deśa* (A.D. 550-1300) by K. M. Munshi, 2 Parts, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1955.

Ḥ.'A. — see Minorsky.

Ḥayawān — *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* by al-Jāḥiẓ, Cairo, 1905-1907.

Heyd — W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1923.

Hitti — P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London, 1949.

Hobson-Jobson — *Hobson-Jobson* by Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, new edition, edited by William Crooke, London, 1903.

Hodīvālā, *I.M.H.* — S. H. Hodīvālā, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, Bombay, 1939.

Hopkins — E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, Boston, U.S.A., 1895.

I.A., Altekar — Anant Sadasiv Altekar, '*A History of Important Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujerat and Kathiawad*', article in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 54 (1925).

I.A., Nandolal Dey — Nandolal Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 2nd ed. (Annex to the *Indian Antiquary*, 1919-26, vols. 48-55 = Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 21. E. 13, London, 1927).

I.G.I. — *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford, 1908.

I.H.Q. — *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. IX, No. 1.

I. Ḥauqal, ed. de Goeje — Ibn Ḥauqal, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik*, ed. de Goeje, BGA, ii.

I. Ḥauqal — Ibn Ḥauqal, *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, ed. J. H. Kramers, 2 vols., Leiden, 1938.

I. Khur. — Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1889, BGA, vi.

I. Rust. — Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-Aʿlāq al-Nafīsa*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1892, BGA, vii.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa — *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, 4 vols., Paris, 1853-58.

Ibn al-Faqīh — Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Hamadhānī, *Kitāb al-Buldān* ed. de Goeje, 1885, BGA, v.

Ibn Mājid — Ibn Mājid, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. shortly after A.D. 1500), *Kitāb al-Fawā'id. Instructions Nautiques*, etc., I, by Gabriel Ferrand, Paris, 1921-23.

Imperial Kanauj — *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, General Editor, R. C. Majumdar, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1955.

Iṣṭ. — Abū Isḥāq al-Fārisī al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik*, ed. de Goeje, 2nd ed., Leiden, 1927, BGA, i.

L'Italia — *L'Italia Descritta nel "Libro del Re Ruggero", compilato da Edrisi* (Arabic Text and Translation in Italian with Notes) by M. Amari and C. Schiaparelli, Roma, 1883. 1878.

Jaubert — P. Amédée Jaubert, *Géographie d'Edrisi*, 2 vols., Paris, 1836, 1840.

Kashf — *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, etc. by Ḥājjī Khalīfa, ed. Gustav Flügel, vols. I-VII, Leipzig, 1835-1858.

al-Khwārizmī, *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ* — *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ* by Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī, *Bibliothek Arabischer Historiker und Geographen*, edited by Hans v. Mžik, Bd. III, Leipzig, 1926.

Kitchin, T. — See Maps of India, etc.

Lane — Edward William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon.*

Lane, *Arabian Nights* — *Arabian Nights' Entertainments* by Edward William Lane, London, 1883, 3 vols.

Law, *Historical Geography* — Bimala Churn Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1954 (published by Société Asiatique de Paris).

Le Strange, *Lands* — *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* by G. Le Strange, Cambridge, 1930.

Lewicki — Tadeusz Lewicki, *Polska i Kraje Sąsiednie w Świetle "Księgi Rogera", geografa arabskiego z XII w. al-Idrīsī'ego*, Cześć I, Kraków, 1945; Cześć II, Warszawa. 1954.

Lisān — *Lisān al-ʿArab*, Būlāq, 1300 A.H.

Map.Arab. — Konrad Miller, *Mappae Arabicae*, Stuttgart, 1926-30.

Map in *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, translated from the English by Antoine-François Prévost d'Exiles, vol. X, Paris 1752, map I — *Carte de l'Indoustan*, Iᵉ feuille. Par M. Bellin, 1752.

Maps of India and Persia by T. Kitchin — as attached to *The New and Universal System of Geography* by Millar London, 1782.

Marco Polo — Sir H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 3rd edition by Henri Cordier, London, 1903.

Marvazī, T., Tr. — *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, Arabic text with an English translation and Commentary by V. Minorsky, London, 1942.

Masʿūdī, *Murūj* — *Kitāb Murūj al-Dhahab wa Maʿādin al-Jauhar, Les Prairies d'Or*, Arabic text and French translation by C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861-77.

Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh* — *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa 'l-Ishrāf*, edited by M. J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1894, BGA viii.
McCrindle's A.I. — *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, by J. W. McCrindle, London, 1885.
Meteorologica — Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, tr. E. W. Webster, ed. W. D. Ross, Oxford, 1931.
Millar — See Maps of India, etc.
Minorsky, *Ḥ.'A.* — *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, 'The Regions of the World,' translated and explained by V. Minorsky, Oxford, 1937.
Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ — *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* by Buṭrus al-Bustānī, Bayrūt, 1870.
Muqaddasī — *Kitāb Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm*, by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muqaddasī, edited by M. J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1906, BGA iii, Second edition.
Muṭahhar — Al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-Bad' wa 'l-Ta'rikh*, ed. Cl. Huart, vol. IV, Paris, 1907.
Nainar — S. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nainar, *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India*, University of Madras, 1942.
Nallino — Carlo Alfonso Nallino, *Al-Ḫuwārizmī e il suo rifacimento della Geografia di Tolomeo*, Rome, 1894.
Nallino, *'Ilm al-Falak* — *'Ilm al-Falak wa Ta'rīkhuhū 'ind al-'Arab fi 'l-Qurūn al-Wusṭā*, by C. A. Nallino, Rome, 1911-12.
Naubakhtī, *Firaq* — *Firaq al-Shī'a* by Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Naubakhtī, ed. H. Ritter, Leipzig (Istanbul, 1931).
Ptolemy, Stevenson — See under *Geography* above.
Qalq. — *An Arab Account of India in the 14th century*, being a translation of the chapters on India from al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* by Otto Spies, Muslim University Press, Aligarh, 1941.
Qazwīnī, *'Ajā'ib* — Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, *Kosmographie*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1849.
Qazwīnī, *'Āthār* — *Kitāb 'Āthār al-Bilād*, II by Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī, ed. by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1848.
Qudāma — Qudāma b. Ja'far, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, ed. by M. J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1889, BGA vi.
Raverty, *Mihrān* — Henry George Raverty, *The Mihrān of Sind and its Tributaries*, Calcutta, 1892-97.
Ray, H. C. — *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1931.
Rāzī — Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft Iqlīm*, vol. I, edited by Sir Denison Ross and others, Calcutta, 1939.
Reinaud, *Géographie* — *Géographie d'Aboulféda, traduite de l'arabe en français* by M. Reinaud, vol. I: *Introduction Générale à la Géographie des Orientaux*, Paris, 1848.
Shahrastānī — Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, ed. Rev. William Cureton, London, 1842.
Stein, *Anc. Geog.* — Sir Marc Aurel Stein, *Memoir in maps illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kāśmīr*, Calcutta, 1899.
Suhrāb, *'Ajā'ib* — *'Ajā'ib al-Aqālīm al-Sab'a* by Suhrāb, ed. by Hans v. Mžik, *Bibliothek Arabischer Historiker und Geographen* V.
Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn* — *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind, Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde, rédigée en 851*, Arabic Text, French translation and

Notes by Jean Sauvaget, Paris, 1948. See Abū Zayd and Ferrand above.

Ṣūrat al-Arḍ. — See al-Khwārizmī, above.

T.S. — *Ta'rīkh-i Sind* by Mīr Ma'ṣūm Bakkarī, ed. by Dā'ūdpota, Poona, 1938.

Tennent, *Ceylon* — Sir James Emerson Tennent, *Ceylon, an account of the Island—physical, historical and topographical*, vol. I, London, 1860.

Times Atlas — *"The Times Atlas"*—India and Farther India, political map. John Bartholomew & Co.

al-'Umarī — Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, Part I, Arabic Text, edited by Aḥmad Zakī Pasha, Cairo, 1924.

Vincent Smith — Vincent A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, third edition, Oxford, 1914; fourth edition, Oxford, 1924.

Williams — Monier Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India*, Part I, London, 1883.

Williams, *Indian Wisdom* — Monier Williams, *Indian Wisdom or Examples of the Religious, Philosophical, and Ethical Doctrines of the Hindūs*, London, 1875.

Ya'qūbī — Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb b. Wāḍiḥ al-Kātib al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1892, BGA, vii.

Yāqūt, *Mu'jam* — *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1866-73.

Yule — See *Marco Polo*.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

T., Text — *India and the Neighbouring Territories as described by the Sharif al-Idrisi*, edited by S. Maqbul Ahmad, Aligarh Muslim University, 1954.

Tr. — Translation of al-Idrīsī's text on India, etc., as presented in the present work.

MS. Grav. — MS. Gravius (Greaves) 42, Bodleian, Oxford.

MS. Par. A — Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Arabic MS. No. 2221.

MS. Par. B — Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Arabic MS. No. 2222.

MS. Poc. — MS. Pococke 375, Bodleian, Oxford.

MS. Q. — MS. No. 36/1, Quṭbuddīn Collection, Manuscript Section, Aligarh Muslim University Library.

MS. Köprülü 955 and MS. Aya Sofya 3502 — MSS. of *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq* of which I have recently obtained microfilms. See above, p. 28 n. 2 and p. 132 *s.v. al-Māzara.*

ERRATA

p. 32 l. 12 and l. 26 'amber' *read* 'ambergris'

p. 80 l. 19 باسیر امان should be one word.

p. 121 l. 32 'Iskander' *read* 'Iskandar'

p. 157 l. 33 'LAHĀVAR' *read* 'LAHĀWAR'

p. 160 l. 17 'ALAMRĪ' *read* 'ALĀMRĪ'

The tashdīd of the ending *-iyya* has been neglected in some cases.

INDEX

i. — *island*; *l.* — *lake*; *m.* — *mountain*; *r.* — *river*

PUBLICATIONS OF THE DE GOEJE FUND

- *1. Al-Buḥturî, *The Ḥamâsah.* 1909.
- *2. Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama, *The Fākhir.* Ed. C. A. Storey. 1915.
- 3. Ignaz Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte.* 1916. Neudr. 1956.
- 4. Bar Hebraeus's *Book of the Dove*, together with some chapters from his *Ethikon.* Transl. A. J. Wensinck. 1919.
- *5. C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen.* 1919.
- 6. Ignaz Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung.* 1920. Neudr. 1952.
- *7. Averroes, *Die Epitome der Metaphysik.* Übers. von S. van den Bergh. 1924.
- 8. Les *„Livres des chevaux"* de Hišām ibn al-Kalbī et Muḥammad ibn al-A'rābī. Ed. G. Levi della Vida. 1928.
- *9. D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, *Ḥaḍramaut.* 1932.
- 10. Abū Ǧa'far Muḥammad ibn Ǧarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī, Das Konstantinopler Fragment des *Kitāb iḫtilāf al-fuqahā'.* Ed. J. Schacht. 1933.
- *11. Arthur Jeffery, *Materials for the history of the text of the Qur'ān.* 1937.
- 11a. Index of qur'ānic verses. 1951.
- *12. E. Lévi Provençal, La péninsule ibérique au moyen âge, d'après le *Kitāb ar-Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fī ḫabar al-aqṭār* d'Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī.
- 13: 1. Ibn al-Muǧāwir, *Ta'riḫ al-Mustabṣir.* Ed. Oscar Löfgren. Pars prior. 1951.
- 13: 2. Idem Pars posterior. 1954.
- 14. 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad as-Sam'ānī, *Adab al-imlā' wa'l-istimlā'.* Ed. Max Weisweiler. 1952.
- 15. *Een Javaanse primbon.* Uitg. en vert. door G. W. J. Drewes. 1954.
- 16. Nūruddīn ar-Rānīrī, *Twee Maleise geschriften.* Uitg. door P. Voorhoeve. 1955.
- 17. Qudāma b. Ǧa'far al-Kātib al-Baġdādī, *The Kitāb naqd aš-ši'r.* Ed. S. A. Bonebakker. 1956.
- 18. C. van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'imāmat zaidite au Yémen.* Trad. Jacques Ryckmans. 1960.
- 19. Muḥammad al-Awzali, *L'Océan des fleurs.* Ed B. H. Stricker. 1960.
- 20. al-Idrīsī, *India and the neigbouring territories.* Transl. S. Maqbul Ahmad. 1960.